

Peace with Honor!
Preparedness!
Prosperity!

THE
Democratic Text Book
1916



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Woodrow Wilson

ISSUED BY

**The Democratic National Committee
The Democratic Congressional Committee**

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WHICH IS AMERICANISM

THIS OR THIS?

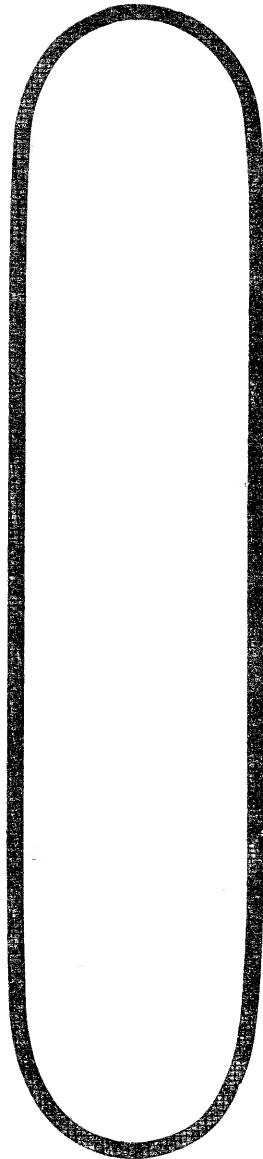
DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM ON DISLOYALTY

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM ON DISLOYALTY

"Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interest of a foreign power, in disregard of our own country's welfare or to injure this Government in its foreign relations or cripple its industries at home, and whoever by arousing prejudices of a racial, religious or other nature, creates discord and strife among our people so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification, is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship repose in him and disloyal to his country.

"We, therefore, condemn as subversive of this nation's unity and integrity, and as destructive of its welfare, the activities and designs of every group or organization, political or otherwise, that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a foreign power, whether such object is promoted by intimidating the Government, a political party, or representatives of the people, or which is calculated and tends to divide our people into antagonistic groups and thus to destroy that complete agreement and solidarity of the people and that unity of sentiment and national purpose so essential to the perpetuity of the nation and its free institutions.

"We condemn all alliances and combinations of individuals in this country of whatever nationality or descent, who agree and conspire together for the embarrassing or weakening our Government or of improperly influencing or coercing our public representatives in dealing or negotiating with any foreign power. We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist and have been instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries to the prejudice and detriment of our own country. We condemn any political party which, in view of the activity of such conspirators, surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy."



The Democratic Text Book == 1916 ==



PROMISES FULFILLED

From Woodrow Wilson's Speech Accepting His
Second Nomination for President

"Boasting is always an empty business, which pleases nobody but the boaster, and I have no disposition to boast of what the Democratic Party has accomplished. It has merely done its duty. It has merely fulfilled its explicit promises. But there can be no violation of good taste in calling attention to the manner in which those promises have been carried out or in adverting to the interesting fact that many of the things accomplished were what the opposition party had again and again promised to do but had left undone. Indeed, that is manifestly part of the business of this year of reckoning and assessment. There is no means of judging the future except by assessing the past. Constructive action must be weighed against destructive comment and reaction. The Democrats either have or have not understood the varied interests of the country. The test is contained in the record."

* * * *

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

I am the candidate of a party, but I am above all things else an American citizen. I neither seek the favor nor fear the displeasure of that small alien element amongst us which puts loyalty to any foreign power before loyalty to the United States.

* * * *



ISSUED BY

The Democratic National Committee

New York and Chicago

The Democratic Congressional Committee

Washington and Chicago

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THE PLATFORMS

Here are the platforms of the two great parties, definitive of their ideals, aspirations and achievements. Compare them section by section and note particularly the ominous silence of the one (on the right) on those subjects held of paramount importance by all progressive Americans today, and its acceptance and advocacy of some of the essential Democratic doctrines advocated or adopted by the Wilson Administration.

READ CAREFULLY; DIGEST SLOWLY; THINK SERVICEABLY!

DEMOCRATIC.

The Democratic Party, in national convention assembled, adopts the following declaration to the end that the people of the United States may both realize the achievements wrought by four years of Democratic administration and be apprised of the policies to which the party is committed for the further conduct of national affairs.

RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT.

We indorse the administration of Woodrow Wilson. It speaks for itself. It is the best exposition of sound Democratic policy at home and abroad.

We challenge comparison of our record, our keeping of pledges and our constructive legislation, with those of any party of any time.

We found our country hampered by special privilege, a vicious tariff, obsolete banking laws and an inelastic currency. Our foreign affairs were dominated by commercial interests for their selfish ends. The Republican Party, despite repeated pledges, was impotent to correct abuses which it had fostered. Under our administration, under a leadership which has never faltered, these abuses have been

REPUBLICAN.

In 1861 the Republican Party stood for the Union. As it stood for the Union of States, it now stands for a united people, true to American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the Constitution, to the Government and to the flag of the United States. We believe in American policies at home and abroad.

corrected, and our people have been freed therefrom.

AN END OF PANICS.

Our archaic banking and currency system, prolific of panic and disaster under Republican administrations—long the refuge of the Money Trust—has been supplanted by the Federal Reserve Act, a true democracy of credit under Government control, already proved a financial bulwark in a world crisis, mobilizing our resources, placing abundant credit at the disposal of legitimate industry and making a currency panic impossible.

THE TRADE COMMISSION.

We have created a Federal Trade Commission to accommodate the perplexing questions arising under the antitrust laws so that monopoly may be strangled at its birth and legitimate industry encouraged. Fair competition in business is now assured.

TARIFF REVISION DOWNWARD.

We have effected an adjustment of the tariff, adequate for revenue under peace conditions, and fair to the consumer and to the producer. We have adjusted the burdens of taxation so that swollen incomes bear their equitable share. Our revenues have been sufficient in times of world stress, and will largely exceed the expenditures for the current fiscal year.

JUSTICE FOR LABOR.

We have lifted human labor from the category of commodities and have secured to the workingman the right of voluntary association for his

protection and welfare. We have protected the rights of the laborer against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction, and have guaranteed to him the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside the presence of the court.

THE POSTAL SERVICE.

We have advanced the parcels post to genuine efficiency, enlarged the Postal Savings System, added 10,000 rural-delivery routes and extensions, thus reaching 2,500,000 additional people, improved the Postal Service in every branch, and for the first time in our history placed the post-office system on a self-supporting basis, with actual surplus in 1913, 1914 and 1916.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

The reforms which were most obviously needed to clear away special privilege, prevent unfair discrimination and release the energies of men of all ranks and advantages, have been effected by recent legislation. We must now remove, as far as possible, every remaining element of unrest and uncertainty from the path of the business men of America, and secure for them a continued period of quiet, assured and confident prosperity.

THE TARIFF.

We reaffirm our belief in the doctrine of a tariff for the purpose of providing sufficient revenue for the operation of the Government economically administered and unreservedly endorse the Underwood tariff law as truly exemplifying that doc-

RURAL FREE DELIVERY.

We favor the extension of the rural free delivery system and condemn the Democratic administration for curtailing and crippling it.

THE TARIFF.

The Republican Party stands now, as always, in the fullest sense for the policy of tariff protection to American industries and American labor and does not regard an antidumping provision as an adequate substitute.

trine. We recognize that tariff rates are necessarily subject to change to meet changing conditions in the world's production and trade. The events of the last two years have brought about many momentous changes. In some respects their effects are yet conjectural and wait to be disclosed, particularly in regard to our foreign trade.

Such protection should be reasonable in amount but sufficient to protect adequately American industries and American labor and so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts. It should, moreover, give special attention to securing the industrial independence of the United States as in the case of dye-stuffs.

Through wise tariff and industrial legislation our industries can be so organized that they will become not only a commercial bulwark but a powerful aid to national defense.

The Underwood tariff act is a complete failure in every respect. Under its administration imports have enormously increased in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly reduced.

Under the normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war it was clearly demonstrated that this act deprived the American producer and the American wage earner of that protection which enabled them to meet their foreign competitors, and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war, would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived American labor of its just reward.

It has not in the least degree reduced the cost of living, which has constantly advanced from the date of its enactment. The welfare of our people demands its repeal and the substitution of a measure which in peace

as well as in war will produce ample revenue and give reasonable protection to all forms of American production in mine, forest, field and factory.

TARIFF COMMISSION.

Two years of a war which has directly involved most of the chief industrial nations of the world and which has indirectly affected the life and industry of all nations, are bringing about economic changes more varied and far-reaching than the world has ever before experienced. In order to ascertain just what those changes may be, the Democratic Congress is providing for a nonpartisan tariff commission to make impartial and thorough study of every economic fact that may throw light either upon our past or upon our future fiscal policy with regard to the imposition of taxes on imports or with regard to the changed and changing conditions under which our trade is carried on. We cordially indorse this timely proposal and declare ourselves in sympathy with the principle and purpose of shaping legislation within that field in accordance with clearly established facts rather than in accordance with the demands of selfish interests or upon information provided largely, if not exclusively, by them.

AMERICANISM.

The part which the United States will play in the new day of international relationships that is now upon us will depend upon our preparation and our character. The Democratic Party, therefore, recognizes the assertion and triumphant demonstration of the indivisibility and

TARIFF COMMISSION.

We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff.

AMERICANISM.

*In 1861 the Republican Party stood for the Union. As it stood for the Union of States, it now stands for a united people, true to

*These extracts consist of the introduction and conclusion of the Republican platform, which, taken together, consist of the nearest approach to a declaration on Americanism to be found in the document.

coherent strength of the Nation as the supreme issue of this day in which the whole world faces the crisis of manifold change. It summons all men of whatever origin or creed who would count themselves Americans, to join in making clear to all the world the unity and consequent power of America. This is an issue of patriotism. To taint it with partisanship would be to defile it. In this day of test America must show itself not a Nation of partisans but a Nation of patriots. There is gathered here in America the best of the blood, the industry and the genius of the world, the elements of a great race and a magnificent society to be welded into a mighty and splendid Nation.

American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the Constitution, to the Government and to the flag of the United States. We believe in American policies at home and abroad.

Such are our principles, such are our purposes and policies. We close as we began. The times are dangerous and the future is fraught with perils. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and phrases. The American spirit, which made the country and saved the Union, has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one hope, one aspiration. We call on all Americans to be true to the spirit of America, to the great traditions of their common country, and above all things, to keep the faith.

DIVIDED ALLEGIANCE.

Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interest of a foreign power, in disregard of our own country's welfare or to injure this Government in its foreign relations or cripple or destroy its industries at home, and whoever by arousing prejudices of a racial, religious or other nature creates discord and strife among our people so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification, is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship repose in him and is disloyal to his country. We, therefore, condemn as subversive of this Nation's unity and

integrity, and as destructive of its welfare, the activities and designs of every group or organization, political or otherwise, that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a foreign power, whether such object is promoted by intimidating the Government, a political party, or representatives of the people, or which is calculated and tends to divide our people into antagonistic groups and thus to destroy that complete agreement and solidarity of the people and that unity of sentiment and purpose so essential to the perpetuity of the Nation and its free institutions. We condemn all alliances and combinations of individuals in this country of whatever nationality or descent, who agree and conspire together for the purpose of embarrassing or weakening our Government or of improperly influencing or coercing our public representatives in dealing or negotiating with any foreign power. We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist and have been instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries to the prejudice and detriment of our own country. We condemn any political party which, in view of the activity of such conspirators, surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy.

PREPAREDNESS.

Along with the proof of our character as a nation must go the proof of our power to play the part that legitimately belongs to us. The people of the United States love peace. They respect the rights and covet

PROTECTION OF THE COUNTRY.

In order to maintain our peace and make certain the security of our people within our own borders the country must have not only adequate but thorough and complete national defenses ready for

the friendship of all other nations. They desire neither any additional territory nor any advantage which can not be peacefully gained by their skill, their industry, or their enterprise; but they insist upon having absolute freedom of national life and policy, and feel that they owe it to themselves and to the role of spirited independence which it is their sole ambition to play, that they should render themselves secure against the hazard of interference from any quarter, and should be able to protect their rights upon the seas or in any part of the world. We, therefore, favor the maintenance of an Army fully adequate to the requirements of order, of safety and of the protection of the Nation's rights; the fullest development of modern methods of seacoast defense and the maintenance of an adequate reserve of citizens trained to arms and prepared to safeguard the people and territory of the United States against any danger of hostile action which may unexpectedly arise; and a fixed policy for the continuous development of a Navy worthy to support the great naval traditions of the United States and fully equal to the international tasks which this Nation hopes and expects to take a part in performing. The plans and enactments of the present Congress afford substantial proof of our purpose in this exigent matter.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The Democratic Administration has throughout the present war scrupulously and successfully held to the old paths of neutrality and to the

any emergency. We must have a sufficient and effective Regular Army, and a provision for ample reserves, already drilled and disciplined, who can be called at once to the colors when the hour of danger comes.

We must have a Navy so strong and so well proportioned and equipped, so thoroughly ready and prepared, that no enemy can gain command of the sea and effect a landing in force on either our western or our eastern coast. To secure these results we must have a coherent and continuous policy of national defense, which even in these perilous days the Democratic Party has utterly failed to develop, but which we promise to give to the country.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a strict and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We

peaceful pursuit of the legitimate objects of our national life which statesmen of all parties and creeds have prescribed for themselves in America since the beginning of our history. But the circumstances of the last two years have revealed necessities of international action which no former generation can have foreseen. We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power, not only to make itself safe at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world, and, both for this end and in the interest of humanity, to assist the world in securing settled peace and justice. We believe that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live; that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon; and that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations; and we believe that the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world in any feasible association that will effectively serve those principles, to maintain inviolate the complete security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all nations.

LIFE ABOVE PROPERTY.

The present administration has consistently sought to act upon and realize in its

must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality, as well as the dignity and influence of the United States, can not be preserved by shifty expedients, by phrasemaking, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure groups of voters. The present administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican Party believes that a firm, consistent, and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican Presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way, to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations. We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes, and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

conduct of the foreign affairs of the Nation the principle that should be the object of any association of the nations formed to secure the peace of the world and the maintenance of national and individual rights. It has followed the highest American traditions. It has preferred respect for the fundamental rights of smaller States even to property interests, and has secured the friendship of the people of such States for the United States by refusing to make a mere material interest an excuse for the assertion of our superior power against the dignity of their sovereign independence. It has regarded the lives of its citizens and the claims of humanity as of greater moment than material rights, and peace as the best basis for the just settlement of commercial claims. It has made the honor and ideals of the United States its standard alike in negotiation and action.

PAN-AMERICAN CONCORD.

We recognize now, as we have always recognized, a definite and common interest between the United States and the other peoples and Republics of the Western Hemisphere in all matters of national independence and free political development. We favor the establishment and maintenance of the closest relations of amity and mutual helpfulness between the United States and the other Republics of the American continents for the support of peace and the promotion of a common prosperity. To that end we favor all measures which may be

LATIN AMERICA.

We favor the continuance of Republican policies which will result in drawing more and more closely the commercial, financial and social relations between this country and the countries of Latin America.

MONROE DOCTRINE.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and declare its maintenance to be a policy of this country essential to its present and future peace and safety and to the achievement of its manifest destiny.

necessary to facilitate intimate intercourse and promote commerce between the United States and our neighbors to the south, and such international understandings as may be practicable and suitable to accomplish these ends.

We commend the action of the Democratic Administration in holding the Pan-American Financial Conference at Washington in May, 1915, and organizing the International High Commission which represented the United States in the recent meeting of representatives of the Latin American Republics at Buenos Aires, April, 1916, which have so greatly promoted the friendly relations between the people of the Western Hemisphere.

MONROE DOCTRINE AND MEXICO.

The Monroe doctrine is reasserted as a principle of Democratic faith. That doctrine guarantees the Independent Republics of the two Americas against aggression from another continent. It implies, as well, the most scrupulous regard upon our part for the sovereignty of each of them. We court their good will. We seek not to despoil them. The want of a stable, responsible government in Mexico, capable of repressing and punishing marauders and bandit bands, who have not only taken the lives and seized and destroyed the property of American citizens in that country, but have insolently invaded our soil, made war upon and murdered our people thereon, has rendered it necessary temporarily to occupy, by our armed forces, a portion

MEXICO.

We deeply sympathize with the 15,000,000 people of Mexico who for three years have seen their country devastated, their homes destroyed, their fellow citizens murdered and their women outraged, by armed bands of desperadoes led by self-seeking, conscienceless agitators who, when temporarily successful in any locality, have neither sought nor been able to restore order or establish and maintain peace.

We express our horror and indignation at the outrages which have been and are being perpetrated by these bandits upon American men and women who were or are in Mexico by invitation of the laws and of the Government of that country and whose rights to security of person and property are guaranteed by solemn treaty obligations. We denounce the indefens-

of the territory of that friendly State. Until, by the restoration of law and order therein, a repetition of such incursions is improbable, the necessity for their remaining will continue. Intervention, implying as it does military subjugation, is revolting to the people of the United States, notwithstanding the provocation to that course has been great and should be resorted to, if at all, only as a last recourse. The stubborn resistance of the President and his advisers to every demand and suggestion to enter upon it, is creditable alike to them and to the people in whose name he speaks.

*

MERCHANT MARINE.

Immediate provision should be made for the development of the carrying trade of the United States. Our foreign commerce has in the past been subject to many unnecessary and vexatious obstacles in the way of legislation of Republican Congresses. Until the recent Democratic tariff legislation, it was hampered by unreasonable burdens of taxation. Until the recent banking legislation it had at its disposal few of the necessary instrumentalities of international credit and exchange. Until the formulation of the pending act to promote the construction of a merchant marine, it lacked even the prospect of adequate carriage by sea. We heartily indorse

ible methods of interference employed by this administration in the internal affairs of Mexico and refer with shame to its failure to discharge the duty of this country as next friend to Mexico, its duty to other powers who have relied upon us as such friend, and its duty to our citizens in Mexico, in permitting the continuance of such conditions, first by failure to act promptly and firmly, and second, by lending its influence to the continuation of such conditions through recognition of one of the factions responsible for these outrages.

We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace in Mexico. We promise to our citizens on and near our border, and to those in Mexico, wherever they may be found, adequate and absolute protection in their lives, liberty and property.

MERCHANT MARINE.

In view of the policies adopted by all the maritime nations to encourage their shipping interests, and in order to enable us to compete with them for the ocean-carrying trade, we favor the payment to ships engaged in the foreign trade of liberal compensation for services actually rendered in carrying the mails, and such further legislation as will build up an adequate American merchant marine and give us ships which may be requisitioned by the Government in time of national emergency.

We are utterly opposed to the Government ownership of vessels as proposed by the Democratic Party, because Government-owned ships, while effectively preventing

the purpose and policy of the pending shipping bill and favor all such additional measures of constructive or remedial legislation as may be necessary to restore our flag to the seas and to provide further facilities for our foreign commerce, particularly such laws as may be requisite to remove unfair conditions of competition in the dealings of American merchants and producers with competitors in foreign markets.

CONSERVATION.

For the safeguarding and quickening of the life of our own people, we favor the conservation and development of the natural resources of the country through a policy which shall be positive rather than negative, a policy which shall not withhold such resources from development but which, while permitting and encouraging their use, shall prevent both waste and monopoly in their exploitation, and we earnestly favor the passage of acts which will accomplish these objects, reaffirming the declaration of the platform of 1912 on this subject.

The policy of reclaiming our arid lands should be steadily adhered to.

DEEDS FOR THE FARMER.

We favor the vigorous prosecution of investigations and plans to render agriculture more profitable and country life more healthful, comfortable and attractive, and we believe that this should be a dominant aim of the Nation as well as of the States. With all its recent improvement, farming still lags behind other occupa-

the development of the American merchant marine by private capital, will be entirely unable to provide for the vast volume of American freights and will leave us more helpless than ever in the hard grip of foreign syndicates.

CONSERVATION.

We believe in a careful husbandry of all the natural resources of the Nation—a husbandry which means development without waste; use without abuse.

tions in development as a business, and the advantages of an advancing civilization have not accrued to rural communities in a fair proportion. Much has been accomplished in this field under the present administration, far more than under any previous administration.

RURAL CREDITS.

In the Federal Reserve Act of the last Congress and the Rural Credits Act of the present Congress, the machinery has been created which will make credit available to the farmer constantly and readily, placing him at last upon a footing of equality with the merchant and the manufacturer in securing the capital necessary to carry on his enterprises. Grades and standards necessary to the intelligent and successful conduct of the business of agriculture have also been established or are in the course of being established by law.

COTTON FUTURES ACT.

The long-needed Cotton Futures Act, passed by the Sixty-third Congress, has now been in successful operation for nearly two years.

GRAIN GRADES AND WAREHOUSE BILLS.

A Grain Grades Bill, long needed, and a Permissive Warehouse Bill, intended to provide better storage facilities and to enable the farmer to obtain certificates upon which he may secure advances of money, have been passed by the House of Representatives, have been favorably reported to the Senate, and will probably become law during the present session of the Congress.

RURAL CREDITS.

We favor an effective system of rural credits as opposed to the ineffective law proposed by the present Democratic Administration.

GOOD ROADS LAW.

Both Houses have passed a good-roads measure which will be of far-reaching benefit to all agricultural communities.

SCIENTIFIC FARMING.

Above all, the most extraordinary and significant progress has been made, under the direction of the Department of Agriculture, in extending and perfecting practical farm demonstration work which is so rapidly substituting scientific for empirical farming. But it is also necessary that rural activities should be better directed through co-operation and organization, that unfair methods of competition should be eliminated and the conditions requisite for the just, orderly and economical marketing of farm products created.

MARKETING.

We approve the Democratic administration for having emphatically directed attention for the first time to the essential interests of agriculture involved in farm marketing and finance, for creating the Office of Markets and Rural Organization in connection with the Department of Agriculture, and for extending the co-operative machinery necessary for conveying information to farmers by means of demonstrations. We favor continued liberal provision, not only for the benefit of production, but also for the study and solution of problems of farm marketing and finance and for the extension of existing agencies for improving country life.

AID FOR POST ROADS.

The happiness, comfort and prosperity of rural life,

and the development of the city, are alike conserved by the construction of public highways. We, therefore, favor national aid in the construction of post roads and roads for military purposes.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT.

We hold that the life, health and strength of the men, women and children of the Nation are its greatest asset, and that in the conservation of these the Federal Government, wherever it acts as the employer of labor, should both on its own account and as an example, put into effect the following principles of just employment:

1. A living wage for all employees.

2. A working day not to exceed eight hours, with one day of rest in seven.

3. The adoption of safety appliances and the establishment of thoroughly sanitary conditions of labor.

4. Adequate compensation for industrial accidents.

5. The standards of the "Uniform Child Labor Law" wherever minors are employed.

6. Such provisions for decency, comfort and health in the employment of women as should be accorded the mothers of the race.

7. An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employees of the civil service, to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

We believe also that the adoption of similar principles should be urged and applied in the legislation of the States with regard to labor within their borders and that through every possible

agency the life and health of the people of the Nation should be conserved.

LABOR.

We declare our faith in the Seamen's Act, passed by the Democratic Congress, and we promise our earnest continuance of its enforcement.

We favor the speedy enactment of an effective Federal Child Labor Law, and the regulation of the shipment of prison-made goods in interstate commerce.

We favor the creation of a Federal Bureau of Safety in the Department of Labor, to gather facts concerning industrial hazards, and to recommend legislation to prevent the maiming and killing of human beings.

We favor the extension of the powers and functions of the Federal Bureau of Mines.

We favor the development upon a systematic scale of the means, already begun under the present administration, to assist laborers throughout the Union to seek and obtain employment, and the extension by the Federal Government of the same assistance and encouragement as is now given to agricultural training.

We heartily commend our newly established Department of Labor for its fine record in settling strikes by personal advice and through conciliating agents.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

We favor a thorough reconsideration of the means and methods by which the Federal Government handles questions of public health to the end that human life may be conserved by the elimination of loathsome diseases,

LABOR LAWS.

We pledge the Republican Party to the faithful enforcement of all Federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education; the enactment and rigid enforcement of a Federal child-labor law; the enactment of a generous and comprehensive workman's compensation law, within the commerce power of Congress, and an accident compensation law covering all Government employees. We favor the collection and collation, under the direction of the Department of Labor, of complete data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that such legislation may be adopted as may be calculated to secure the safety, conservation and protection of labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation.

the improvement of sanitation, and the diffusion of a knowledge of disease prevention.

We favor the establishment by the Federal Government of tuberculosis sanitariums for needy tubercular patients.

SENATE RULES.

We favor such alteration of the rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the Nation's legislative business.



ECONOMY AND THE BUDGET.

We demand careful economy in all expenditures for the support of the Government, and to that end favor a return by the House of Representatives to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee chosen from its membership, in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized, and made uniform, and waste and duplication in the public service as much as possible avoided. We favor this as a practicable first step toward a budget system.

CIVIL SERVICE.

We reaffirm our declarations for the rigid enforcement of the Civil Service laws.

ECONOMY AND A NATIONAL BUDGET.

The increasing cost of the National Government and the need for the greatest economy of its resources in order to meet the growing demands of the people for Government service call for the severest condemnation of the wasteful appropriations of this Democratic Administration, of its shameless raids on the Treasury, and of its opposition to and rejection of President Taft's oft-repeated proposals and earnest efforts to secure economy and efficiency through the establishment of a simple businesslike budget system to which we pledge our support and which we hold to be necessary to effect any real reform in the administration of national finances.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The Civil-Service Law has always been sustained by the Republican Party, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The Democratic Party has created since March 4, 1913, 30,000 offices

outside of the Civil-Service Law at an annual cost of \$44,000,000 to the taxpayers of the country.

We condemn the gross abuse and the misuse of the law by the present Democratic Administration, and pledge ourselves to a reorganization of this service along lines of efficiency and economy.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

We heartily indorse the provisions of the bill, recently passed by the House of Representatives, further promoting self-government in the Philippine Islands as being in fulfillment of the policy declared by the Democratic Party in its last National platform, and we reiterate our indorsement of the purpose of ultimate independence for the Philippine Islands, expressed in the preamble of that measure.

PHILIPPINES.

We renew our allegiance to the Philippine policy inaugurated by McKinley, approved by Congress and consistently carried out by Roosevelt and Taft. Even in this short time it has enormously improved the material and social conditions of the islands, given the Philippine people a constantly increasing participation in their government, and, if persisted in, will bring still greater benefits in the future.

We accepted the responsibility of the islands as a duty to civilization and the Filipino people. To leave with our task half done, would break our pledges, injure our prestige among nations, and imperil what has already been accomplished.

We condemn the Democratic administration for its attempt to abandon the Philippines, which was prevented only by the vigorous opposition of Republican Members of Congress, aided by a few patriotic Democrats.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men.

SUFFRAGE.

The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of the country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but

recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself.

PROTECTION OF CITIZENS.

We again declare the policy that the sacred rights of American citizenship must be preserved at home and abroad, and that no treaty shall receive the sanction of our Government which does not expressly recognize the absolute equality of all our citizens irrespective of race, creed or previous nationality, and which does not recognize the right of expatriation. The American Government should protect American citizens in their rights not only at home but abroad, and any country having a Government should be held to strict accountability for any wrongs done them, either to person or to property. At the earliest practicable opportunity our country should strive earnestly for peace among the warring nations of Europe and seek to bring about the adoption of the fundamental principle of justice and humanity, that all men shall enjoy equality of right and freedom from discrimination in the lands wherein they dwell.

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN RIGHTS.

We declare that we believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all the rights secured to him by the Constitution, by treaties and the law of nations, at home and abroad, by land and sea. These rights, which, in violation of the specific promise of their party made at Baltimore in 1912, the Democratic President and the Democratic Congress have failed to defend, we will unflinchingly maintain.

RIGHT OF EXPATRIATION.

We reiterate the unqualified approval of the action taken in December, 1911, by the President and Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens whether native born or alien, and regardless of race, religion or previous political allegiance.

We renew the pledge to observe this principle and to maintain the right of asylum, which is neither to be surrendered nor restricted, and we unite in the cherished hope that the war which is now desolating the world may speedily end, with a complete and lasting restoration of brotherhood among the nations of the earth and the assurance of full equal rights, civil and religious, to all men in every land.

PRISON REFORM.

We demand that the modern principles of prison reform be applied in our Federal Penal System. We favor such work for prisoners as shall give them training in remunerative occupations so that they may make an honest living when released from prison; the setting apart of the net wages of the prisoner to be paid to his dependent family or to be reserved for his own use upon his release; the liberal extension of the principles of the Federal Parole Law, with due regard both to the welfare of the prisoner and the interests of society; the adoption of the probation system, especially in the case of first offenders not convicted of serious crimes.

PENSIONS.

We renew the declarations of recent Democratic platforms relating to generous pensions for soldiers and their widows and call attention to our record of performance in this particular.

WATERWAYS AND FLOOD CONTROL.

We renew the declaration in our last two platforms relating to the development of

our waterways. The recent devastation of the lower Mississippi Valley and several other sections by floods accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional bank and levee protection below, and diversion, storage and control of the flood waters above, and their utilization for beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands, and development of water power, instead of permitting the floods to continue as heretofore agents of destruction. We hold that the control of the Mississippi River is a national problem. The preservation of the depth of its waters for purposes of navigation, the building of levees and works of bank protection to maintain the integrity of its channel and prevent the overflow of its valley resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service, and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the National Government.

We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our harbors and inland waterways with economy and efficiency so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft.

ALASKA.

It has been and will be the policy of the Democratic Party to enact all laws necessary for the speedy development of Alaska and its great natural resources.

TERRITORIES.

We favor granting to the people of Alaska, Hawaii

TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS.

Reaffirming the attitude long maintained by the Re-

and Porto Rico the traditional Territorial government accorded to all Territories of the United States since the beginning of our Government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of these several Territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence.

publican Party, we hold that officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory should be bona fide residents of the Territory in which their duties are to be performed.

CANDIDATES.

We unreservedly indorse our President and Vice President, Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, and Thomas Riley Marshall of Indiana, who have performed the functions of their great offices faithfully and impartially, and with distinguished ability.

In particular we commend to the American people the splendid diplomatic victories of our great President, who has preserved the vital interests of our Government and its citizens, and kept us out of war.

Woodrow Wilson stands to-day the greatest American of his generation.

HONOR, DIGNITY, PEACE.

This is a critical hour in the history of America, a critical hour in the history of the world. Upon the record above set forth, which shows great constructive achievement in following out a consistent policy for our domestic and internal development; upon the record of the Democratic Administration, which has maintained the honor, the dignity and the interests of the United States, and at the same time, retained the respect and friendship of all the nations of the world; and upon the great policies for the future strengthening of the life of our country, the

RAILROADS.

Interstate and intrastate transportation have become so interwoven that the attempt to apply two and often several sets of laws to its regulation has produced conflicts of authority, embarrassment in operation and inconvenience and expense to the public.

The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We, therefore, favor such action by legislation or, if

enlargement of our national vision and the ennobling of our international relations, as set forth above, we appeal with confidence to the voters of the country.

necessary, through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will result in placing it under complete Federal control.

The Republican Party has long believed in the rigid supervision and strict regulation of the transportation and great corporations of the country. It has put its creed into its deeds, and all really effective laws regulating the railroads and the great industrial corporations are the work of Republican Congresses and Presidents. For this policy of regulation and supervision the Democrats, in a stumbling and piecemeal way, are undertaking to involve the Government in business which should be left within the sphere of private enterprise and in direct competition with its own citizens, a policy which is sure to result in waste, great expense to the taxpayer and in an inferior product.

The Republican Party firmly believes that all who violate the laws in regulation of business, should be individually punished. But prosecution is very different from persecution, and business success, no matter how honestly attained, is apparently regarded by the Democratic Party as in itself a crime. Such doctrines and beliefs choke enterprise and stifle prosperity. The Republican Party believes in encouraging American business, as it believes in and will seek to advance all American interests.

“REACTIONARIES MADE 1916 G. O. P. PLATFORM”

Senator Robert M. LaFollette

Wisconsin's Progressive Republican Senator Says G. O. P. Repudiates Progressive Principles

SENATOR ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE, of Wisconsin, a Republican, denounces in no unmeasured terms the make-shift platform adopted by the Republicans at Chicago. In his direct way he said in his magazine last June:

“The platform adopted by the Republican convention at Chicago cannot fail to be a disappointment to the great majority of the party.

“The reactionary element of the party were in control of the convention.

TARIFF PLANK EVASION.

“A STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PROGRESSIVE AND STANDPAT REPUBLICANS OVER THE REDUCTION OF THE DINGLEY TARIFF FORCED INTO THE PLATFORMS OF 1904 AND 1908 A DEFINITE LEGISLATIVE LIMITATION UPON TARIFF RATES. THAT LIMITATION IS ECONOMICALLY SOUND. IT CAN BE SCIENTIFICALLY ASCERTAINED AND ENFORCED. IF ADOPTED AND HONESTLY APPLIED, THE TARIFF WOULD FOREVER CEASE TO BE A POLITICAL ISSUE.

“AS STATED IN THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS OF 1904 AND 1908—‘THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN COST OF PRODUCTION AT HOME AND ABROAD,’ BECAME THE TRUE MEASURE OF A PROTECTIVE TARIFF, ABOVE WHICH DUTIES COULD NOT IN GOOD FAITH BE PLACED. A HIGHER RATE CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED AND WILL NOT BE TOLERATED.

“THAT LIMITATION IS NOT FOUND IN THE CHICAGO PLATFORM. ITS TARIFF PROVISION GOES BACK TO THE VAGUE EVASIVE TERMS, ‘REASONABLE,’ ‘ADEQUATE,’ ‘SUFFICIENT,’ ‘JUST,’ ‘FAIR’—LANGUAGE ASSOCIATED IN THE PUBLIC MIND WITH THE OLD-TIME TARIFF GAME, AND RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF THE ILL REPUTE WHICH STANDPAT REPRESENTATIVES OF PRIVILEGE HAVE BROUGHT UPON A SOUND ECONOMIC POLICY—WHEN PROPERLY SAFEGUARDED.

REACTIONARY ON TRUSTS.

"Again and again had Republican platforms denounced 'Combinations to create monopolies, limit production or to control prices,' and declared for 'such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition.'

"Even as late as 1912 the platform proclaimed this doctrine:

"The Republican party is opposed to special privilege and monopoly.'

"And further it favored legislation 'supplementary to the existing anti-trust act which will define as criminal offenses those specific acts that uniformly mark attempts to restrain and to monopolize trade.'

"It affirmed 'the right of every man to acquire commodities and, particularly, the necessities of life in an open market, uninfluenced by the manipulation of trust or combination.'

"THE REACTIONARIES WHO MADE THE PLATFORM OF 1916 FORGOT THE CRIMINAL COMBINATIONS WHICH WERE SO MENACING IN 1912 AS TO MAKE IT IMPERATIVE TO DECLARE FOR CRIMINAL STATUTES, 'SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE EXISTING ANTI-TRUST LAW' "

The statesman stands in the midst of life to interpret life in political action.—Woodrow Wilson.

" 'TO maintain our national honor by peace if we can, by war if we must,' is the motto of the President of the United States.

"This policy may not satisfy those who revel in destruction and find pleasure in despair. It may not satisfy the fire-eater or the swashbuckler.

"But it does satisfy those who worship at the altar of the God of Peace.

"IT DOES SATISFY THE MOTHERS OF THE LAND AT WHOSE HEART AND FIRESIDE NO JINGOISTIC WAR HAS PLACED AN EMPTY CHAIR.

"IT DOES SATISFY THE DAUGHTERS OF THIS LAND FROM WHOM BLUSTER AND BRAG HAS SENT NO LOVING BROTHER TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE GRAVE.

"IT DOES SATISFY THE FATHERS OF THIS LAND AND THE SONS OF THIS LAND WHO WILL FIGHT FOR OUR FLAG, AND DIE FOR OUR FLAG WHEN REASON PRIMES THE RIFLE, WHEN HONOR DRAWS THE SWORD, WHEN JUSTICE BREATHES A BLESSING ON THE STANDARD THEY UPHOLD."—Former Governor Martin H. Glynn in his keynote speech before the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis.

AMERICA FORWARD!

The President's Call

Acceptance Speech Vividly Contrasts Democratic Achievement With Republican Failure and Impotence

(With eloquence surpassing even himself, Woodrow Wilson met every essential issue of the campaign in his speech accepting the Democratic nomination for President. The speech was delivered September 2d at the President's summer home, "Shadowlawn," Long Branch, N. J., in response to the formal notification of his nomination made by Senator Ollie James of Kentucky, who was named chairman of the Notification Committee by the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis.)

Read this speech sentence by sentence; ponder each paragraph; feel and know the policies of Democracy's great President.

They are rooted in love of America and Americans; they reflect the noblest traditions of our country; are founded upon fundamental rights of life and law. He has pursued these ideals steadfastly in the face of selfish and powerful opposition, without fear and without compromise.

If you doubt his Mexican policy, read his treatment of this question in this speech.

If you would have understanding of America's great service to Europe in her hour of supreme trial, read his statement of the law and principles underlying the European policy.

If you would fully comprehend what the great domestic program of achievement means to America, ponder the President's review of it.)

SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE, 1916

SENATOR JAMES, GENTLEMEN OF THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE, FELLOW CITIZENS: I cannot accept the leadership and responsibility which the National Democratic Convention has again, in such generous fashion, asked me to accept without first expressing my profound gratitude to the party for the trust it reposes in me after four years of fiery trial in the midst of affairs of unprecedented difficulty, and the keen sense of added responsibility with which this honour fills (I had almost said burdens) me as I think of the great issues of national life and policy involved in the present and immediate future conduct of our government. I shall seek, as I have always sought, to justify the extraordinary confidence thus reposed in me by striving to purge my heart and purpose of every personal and of every misleading party motive and devoting every energy I have to the service of the nation as a whole, praying that I may continue to have the counsel and support of all forward-looking men at every turn of the difficult business.

For I do not doubt that the people of the United States will wish the Democratic Party to continue in control of the Government. They are not in the habit of rejecting those who have actually served them for those

who are making doubtful and conjectural promises of service. Least of all are they likely to substitute those who promised to render them particular services and proved false to that promise for those who have actually rendered those very services.

Promises Fulfilled

Boasting is always an empty business, which pleases nobody but the boaster, and I have no disposition to boast of what the Democratic Party has accomplished. It has merely done its duty. It has merely fulfilled its explicit promises. But there can be no violation of good taste in calling attention to the manner in which those promises have been carried out or in adverting to the interesting fact that many of the things accomplished were what the opposition party had again and again promised to do but had left undone. Indeed that is manifestly part of the business of this year of reckoning and assessment. There is no means of judging the future except by assessing the past. Constructive action must be weighed against destructive comment and reaction. The Democrats either have or have not understood the varied interests of the country. The test is contained in the record.

What is that record? What were the Democrats called into power to do? What things had long waited to be done, and how did the Democrats do them? It is a record of extraordinary length and variety, rich in elements of many kinds, but consistent in principle throughout and susceptible of brief recital.

Republican Failure

The Republican party was put out of power because of failure, practical failure and moral failure; because it had served special interests and not the country at large; because, under the leadership of its preferred and established guides, of those who still make its choices, it had lost touch with the thoughts and the needs of the nation and was living in a past age and under a fixed illusion, the illusion of greatness. It had framed tariff laws based upon a fear of foreign trade, a fundamental doubt as to American skill, enterprise, and capacity, and a very tender regard for the profitable privileges of those who had gained control of domestic markets and domestic credits; and yet had enacted anti-trust laws which hampered the very things they meant to foster, which were stiff and inelastic, and in part unintelligible. It had permitted the country throughout the long period of its control to stagger from one financial crisis to another under the operation of a national banking law of its own framing which made stringency and panic certain and the control of the larger business operations of the country by the bankers of a few reserve centres inevitable; had made as if it meant to reform the law but had faint-heartedly failed in the attempt, because it could not bring itself to do the one

thing necessary to make the reform genuine and effectual, namely, break up the control of small groups of bankers. It had been oblivious, or indifferent, to the fact that the farmers, upon whom the country depends for its food and in the last analysis for its prosperity, were without standing in the matter of commercial credit, without the protection of standards in their market transactions, and without systematic knowledge of the markets themselves; that the laborers of the country, the great army of men who man the industries it was professing to father and promote, carried their labor as a mere commodity to market, were subject to restraint by novel and drastic process in the courts, were without assurance of compensation for industrial accidents, without federal assistance in accommodating labor disputes, and without national aid or advice in finding the places and the industries in which their labor was most needed. The country had no national system of road construction and development. Little intelligent attention was paid to the army and not enough to the navy. The other republics of America distrusted us, because they found that we thought first of the profits of American investors and only as an afterthought of impartial justice and helpful friendship. Its policy was provincial in all things; its purposes were out of harmony with the temper and purpose of the people and the timely development of the nation's interests.

The Record of Achievement

So things stood when the Democratic Party came into power. How do they stand now? Alike in the domestic field and in the wide field of the commerce of the world, American business and life and industry have been set free to move as they never moved before.

The tariff has been revised, not on the principle of repelling foreign trade, but upon the principle of encouraging it, upon something like a footing of equality with our own in respect of the terms of competition, and a Tariff Board has been created whose function it will be to keep the relations of American with foreign business and industry under constant observation, for the guidance alike of our business men and of our Congress. American energies are now directed towards the markets of the world.

The laws against trusts have been clarified by definition, with a view to making it plain that they were not directed against big business but only against unfair business and the pretense of competition where there was none; and a Trade Commission has been created with powers of guidance and accommodation which have relieved business men of unfounded fears and set them upon the road of hopeful and confident enterprise.

By the Federal Reserve Act the supply of currency at the disposal of active business has been rendered elastic, taking its volume, not from a fixed body of investment securities, but from the liquid assets of daily trade; and these assets are assessed and accepted, not by distant groups of bankers in control of unavailable reserves, but by bankers at the

many centres of local exchange who are in touch with local conditions everywhere.

Effective measures have been taken for the re-creation of an American merchant marine and the revival of the American carrying trade indispensable to our emancipation from the control which foreigners have so long exercised over the opportunities, the routes, and the methods of our commerce with other countries.

The Interstate Commerce Commission is about to be re-organized to enable it to perform its great and important functions more promptly and more efficiently. We have created, extended and improved the service of the parcels post.

Contrast of the Parties

So much we have done for business. What other party has understood the task so well or executed it so intelligently and energetically? What other party has attempted it at all? The Republican leaders, apparently, know of no means of assisting business but "protection." How to stimulate it and put it upon a new footing of energy and enterprise they have not suggested.

For the farmers of the country we have virtually created commercial credit, by means of the Federal Reserve Act and the Rural Credits Act. They now have the standing of other business men in the money market. We have successfully regulated speculation in "futures" and established standards in the marketing of grains. By an intelligent Warehouse Act we have assisted to make the standard crops available as never before both for systematic marketing and as a security for loans from the banks. We have greatly added to the work of neighborhood demonstration on the farm itself of improved methods of cultivation, and, through the intelligent extension of the functions of the Department of Agriculture, have made it possible for the farmer to learn systematically where his best markets are and how to get at them.

Emancipation of Labor

The workingmen of America have been given a veritable emancipation, by the legal recognition of a man's labor as part of his life, and not a mere marketable commodity; by exempting labor organizations from processes of the courts which treated their members like fractional parts of mobs and not like accessible and responsible individuals; by releasing our seamen from involuntary servitude; by making adequate provision for compensation for industrial accidents; by providing suitable machinery for mediation and conciliation in industrial disputes; and by putting the Federal Department of Labor at the disposal of the workman when in search of work.

We have effected the emancipation of the children of the country by releasing them from hurtful labor. We have instituted a system of national aid in the building of high-roads such as the country has been feeling after for a cen-

ture. We have sought to equalize taxation by means of an equitable income tax. We have taken the steps that ought to have been taken at the outset to open up the resources of Alaska. We have provided for national defense upon a scale never before seriously proposed upon the responsibility of an entire political party. We have driven the tariff lobby from cover and obliged it to substitute solid argument for private influence.

Not a "List of Sanguine Promises"

This extraordinary recital must sound like a platform, a list of sanguine promises; but it is not. It is a record of promises made four years ago and now actually redeemed in constructive legislation.

These things must profoundly disturb the thoughts and confound the plans of those who have made themselves believe that the Democratic Party neither understood nor was ready to assist the business of the country in the great enterprises which it is its evident and inevitable destiny to undertake and carry through. The breaking up of the lobby must especially disconcert them; for it was through the lobby that they sought and were sure they had found the heart of things. The game of privilege can be played successfully by no other means.

This record must equally astonish those who feared that the Democratic Party had not opened its heart to comprehend the demands of social justice. We have in four years come very near to carrying out the platform of the Progressive Party as well as our own; for we also are progressives.

The Fight Against The Interests

There is one circumstance connected with this programme which ought to be very plainly stated. It was resisted at every step by the interests which the Republican Party had catered to and fostered at the expense of the country, and these same interests are now earnestly praying for a reaction which will save their privileges,—for the restoration of their sworn friends to power before it is too late to recover what they have lost. They fought with particular desperation and infinite resourcefulness the reform of the banking and currency system, knowing that to be the citadel of their control; and most anxiously are they hoping and planning for the amendment of the Federal Reserve Act by the concentration of control in a single bank which the old familiar group of bankers can keep under their eye and direction. But while the "big men" who used to write the tariffs and command the assistance of the Treasury have been hostile,—all but a few with vision,—the average business man knows that he has been delivered, and that the fear that was once every day in his heart, that the men who controlled credit and directed enterprise from the committee rooms of Congress would crush him, is there no more, and will not return,—unless the party that consulted only the "big men" should return to power,—the party of masterly inactivity

and cunning resourcefulness in standing pat to resist change.

The Republican Party is just the party that cannot meet the new conditions of a new age. It does not know the way and it does not wish new conditions. It tried to break away from the old leaders and could not. They still select its candidates and dictate its policy, still resist change, still hanker after the old conditions, still know no methods of encouraging business but the old methods. When it changes its leaders and its purposes and brings its ideas up to date it will have the right to ask the American people to give it power again; but not until then. A new age, an age of revolutionary change, needs new purposes and new ideas.

Principles Guide Foreign Policy

In foreign affairs we have been guided by principles clearly conceived and consistently lived up to. Perhaps they have not been fully comprehended because they have hitherto governed international affairs only in theory, not in practice. They are simple, obvious, easily stated, and fundamental to American ideals.

We have been neutral not only because it was the fixed and traditional policy of the United States to stand aloof from the politics of Europe and because we had had no part either of action or of policy in the influences which brought on the present war, but also because it was manifestly our duty to prevent, if it were possible, the indefinite extension of the fires of heat and desolation kindled by that terrible conflict and seek to serve mankind by reserving our strength and our resources for the anxious and difficult days of restoration and healing which must follow, when peace will have to build its house anew.

The Rights of Americans

The rights of our own citizens of course became involved; that was inevitable. Where they did this was our guiding principle: that property rights can be vindicated by claims for damages, and no modern nation can decline to arbitrate such claims; but the fundamental rights of humanity cannot be. The loss of life is irreparable. Neither can direct violations of a nation's sovereignty await vindication in suits for damages. The nation that violates these essential rights must expect to be checked and called to account by direct challenge and resistance. It at once makes the quarrel in part our own. These are plain principles and we have never lost sight of them or departed from them, whatever the stress or the perplexity of circumstance or the provocation to hasty resentment. The record is clear and consistent throughout and stands distinct and definite for anyone to judge who wishes to know the truth about it.

"The Poison of Disloyalty"

The seas were not broad enough to keep the infection of the conflict out of our own politics. The passions and intrigues of certain active groups and combinations of men

amongst us who were born under foreign flags injected the poison of disloyalty into our own most critical affairs, laid violent hands upon many of our industries, and subjected us to the shame of divisions of sentiment and purpose in which America was contemned and forgotten. It is part of the business of this year of reckoning and settlement to speak plainly and act with unmistakable purpose in rebuke of these things, in order that they may be forever hereafter impossible. I am the candidate of a party, but I am above all things else an American citizen. I neither seek the favour nor fear the displeasure of that small alien element amongst us which puts loyalty to any foreign power before loyalty to the United States.

Justice to Mexico

While Europe was at war our own continent, one of our own neighbours, was shaken by revolution. In that matter, too, principle was plain and it was imperative that we should live up to it if we were to deserve the trust of any real partisan of the right as free men see it. We have professed to believe, and we do believe, that the people of small and weak states have the right to expect to be dealt with exactly as the people of big and powerful states would be. We have acted upon that principle in dealing with the people of Mexico.

Our recent pursuit of bandits into Mexican territory was no violation of that principle. We ventured to enter Mexican territory only because there were no military forces in Mexico that could protect our border from hostile attack and our own people from violence, and we have committed there no single act of hostility or interference even with the sovereign authority of the Republic of Mexico herself. It was a plain case of the violation of our own sovereignty which could not wait to be vindicated by damages and for which there was no other remedy. The authorities of Mexico were powerless to prevent it.

Many serious wrongs against the property, many irreparable wrongs against the persons, of Americans have been committed within the territory of Mexico herself during this confused revolution, wrongs which could not be effectually checked so long as there was no constituted power in Mexico which was in a position to check them. We could not act directly in that matter ourselves without denying Mexicans the right to any revolution at all which disturbed us and making the emancipation of her own people await our own interest and convenience.

Challenge to Mexican Critics

For it is their emancipation that they are seeking,—blindly, it may be, and as yet ineffectually, but with profound and passionate purpose and within their unquestionable right, apply what true American principle you will,—any principle that an American would publicly avow. The people of Mexico have not been suffered to own their own

country or direct their own institutions. Outsiders, men out of other nations and with interests too often alien to their own, have dictated what their privileges and opportunities should be and who should control their land, their lives, and their resources,—some of them Americans, pressing for things they could never have got in their own country. The Mexican people are entitled to attempt their liberty from such influences; and so long as I have anything to do with the action of our great Government I shall do everything in my power to prevent anyone standing in their way. I know that this is hard for some persons to understand; but it is not hard for the plain people of the United States to understand. It is hard doctrine only for those who wish to get something for themselves out of Mexico. There are men, and noble women, too, not a few, of our own people, thank God! whose fortunes are invested in great properties in Mexico who yet see the case with true vision and assess its issues with true American feeling. The rest can be left for the present out of the reckoning until this enslaved people has had its day of struggle towards the light. I have heard no one who was free from such influences propose interference by the United States with the internal affairs of Mexico. Certainly no friend of the Mexican people has proposed it.

“ The Unspeakable Huerta ”

The people of the United States are capable of great sympathies and a noble pity in dealing with problems of this kind. As their spokesman and representative, I have tried to act in the spirit they would wish me show. The people of Mexico are striving for the rights that are fundamental to life and happiness,—fifteen million oppressed men, overburdened women, and pitiful children in virtual bondage in their own home of fertile lands and inexhaustible treasure! Some of the leaders of the revolution may often have been mistaken and violent and selfish, but the revolution itself was inevitable and is right. The unspeakable Huerta betrayed the very comrades he served, traitorously overthrew the government of which he was a trusted part, impudently spoke for the very forces that had driven his people to the rebellion with which he had pretended to sympathize. The men who overcame him and drove him out represent at least the fierce passion of reconstruction which lies at the very heart of liberty; and so long as they represent, however imperfectly, such a struggle for deliverance, I am ready to serve their ends when I can. So long as the power of recognition rests with me the Government of the United States will refuse to extend the hand of welcome to any one who obtains power in a sister republic by treachery and violence. No permanency can be given the affairs of any republic by a title based upon intrigue and assassination. I declared that to be the policy of this Administration within three weeks after I assumed the presidency. I here again vow it. I am more interested in the fortunes of oppressed men and pitiful women and chil-

dren than in any property rights whatever. Mistakes I have no doubt made in this perplexing business, but not in purpose or object.

"All America Looks On"

More is involved than the immediate destinies of Mexico and the relations of the United States with a distressed and distracted people. All America looks on. Test is now being made of us whether we be sincere lovers of popular liberty or not and are indeed to be trusted to respect national sovereignty among our weaker neighbours. We have undertaken these many years to play big brother to the republics of this hemisphere. This is the day of our test whether we mean, or have ever meant, to play that part for our own benefit wholly or also for theirs. Upon the outcome of that test (its outcome in their minds, not in ours) depends every relationship of the United States with Latin America, whether in politics or in commerce and enterprise. These are great issues and lie at the heart of the gravest tasks of the future, tasks both economic and political and very intimately inwrought with many of the most vital of the new issues of the politics of the world. The republics of America have in the last three years been drawing together in a new spirit of accommodation, mutual understanding, and cordial cooperation. Much of the politics of the world in the years to come will depend upon their relationships with one another. It is a barren and provincial statesmanship that loses sight of such things!

Great Problems Pending

The future, the immediate future, will bring us squarely face to face with many great and exacting problems which will search us through and through whether we be able and ready to play the part in the world that we mean to play. It will not bring us into their presence slowly, gently, with ceremonious introduction, but suddenly and at once, the moment the war in Europe is over. They will be new problems, most of them; many will be old problems in a new setting and with new elements which we have never dealt with or reckoned the force and meaning of before. They will require for their solution new thinking, fresh courage and resourcefulness, and in some matters radical reconsiderations of policy. We must be ready to mobilize our resources alike of brains and of materials.

It is not a future to be afraid of. It is, rather, a future to stimulate and excite us to the display of the best powers that are in us. We may enter it with confidence when we are sure that we understand it,—and we have provided ourselves already with the means of understanding it.

America's Chance for New Honors

Look first at what it will be necessary that the nations of the world should do to make the days to come tolerable and fit to live and work in; and then look at our part in

what is to follow and our own duty of preparation. For we must be prepared both in resources and in policy.

There must be a just and settled peace, and we here in America must contribute the full force of our enthusiasm and of our authority as a nation to the organization of that peace upon world-wide foundations that cannot easily be shaken. No nation should be forced to take sides in any quarrel in which its own honour and integrity and the fortunes of its own people are not involved; but no nation can any longer remain neutral as against any wilful disturbance of the peace of the world. The effects of war can no longer be confined to the areas of battle. No nation stands wholly apart in interest when the life and interests of all nations are thrown into confusion and peril. If hopeful and generous enterprise is to be renewed, if the healing and helpful arts of life are indeed to be revived when peace comes again, a new atmosphere of justice and friendship must be generated by means the world has never tried before. The nations of the world must unite in joint guarantees that whatever is done to disturb the whole world's life must first be tested in the court of the whole world's opinion before it is attempted.

These are the new foundations the world must build for itself, and we must play our part in the reconstruction, generously and without too much thought of our separate interests. We must make ourselves ready to play it intelligently, vigorously and well.

One of the contributions we must make to the world's peace is this: We must see to it that the people in our insular possessions are treated in their own lands as we would treat them here, and make the rule of the United States mean the same thing everywhere,—the same justice, the same consideration for the essential rights of men.

Preparation To Do Our Part

Besides contributing our ungrudging moral and practical support to the establishment of peace throughout the world we must actively and intelligently prepare ourselves to do our full service in the trade and industry which are to sustain and develop the life of the nations in the days to come.

We have already been provident in this great matter and supplied ourselves with the instrumentalities of prompt adjustment. We have created, in the Federal Trade Commission, a means of inquiry and of accommodation in the field of commerce which ought both to coordinate the enterprises of our traders and manufacturers and to remove the barriers of misunderstanding and of a too technical interpretation of the law. In the new Tariff Commission we have added another instrumentality of observation and adjustment which promises to be immediately serviceable. The Trade Commission substitutes counsel and accommodation for the harsher processes of legal restraint, and the Tariff Commission ought to substitute facts for prejudices and theories. Our exporters have for some time had

the advantage of working in the new light thrown upon foreign markets and opportunities of trade by the intelligent inquiries and activities of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce which the Democratic Congress so wisely created in 1912. The Tariff Commission completes the machinery by which we shall be enabled to open up our legislative policy to the facts as they develop.

We can no longer indulge our traditional provincialism. We are to play a leading part in the world drama whether we wish it or not. We shall lend, not borrow; act for ourselves, not imitate or follow; organize and initiate, not peep about merely to see where we may get in.

Aid to Our Exporters

We have already formulated and agreed upon a policy of law which will explicitly remove the ban now supposed to rest upon cooperation amongst our exporters in seeking and securing their proper place in the markets of the world. The field will be free, the instrumentalities at hand. It will only remain for the masters of enterprise amongst us to act in energetic concert, and for the Government of the United States to insist upon the maintenance throughout the world of those conditions of fairness and of even-handed justice in the commercial dealings of the nations with one another upon which, after all, in the last analysis, the peace and ordered life of the world must ultimately depend.

At home also we must see to it that the men who plan and develop and direct our business enterprises shall enjoy definite and settled conditions of law, a policy accommodated to the freest progress. We have set the just and necessary limits. We have put all kinds of unfair competition under the ban and penalty of the law. We have barred monopoly. These fatal and ugly things being excluded, we must now quicken action and facilitate enterprise by every just means within our choice. There will be peace in the business world, and, with peace, revived confidence and life.

Husbanding Our Resources

We ought both to husband and to develop our natural resources, our mines, our forests, our water power. I wish we could have made more progress than we have made in this vital matter; and I call once more, with the deepest earnestness and solicitude, upon the advocates of a careful and provident conservation, on the one hand, and the advocates of a free and inviting field for private capital, on the other, to get together in a spirit of genuine accommodation and agreement and set this great policy forward at once.

We must hearten and quicken the spirit and efficiency of labor throughout our whole industrial system by everywhere and in all occupations doing justice to the laborer, not only by paying a living wage but also by making all the conditions that surround labor what they ought to be. And we must do more than justice. We must safeguard life and promote health and safety in every occupation in

which they are threatened or imperilled. That is more than justice, and better, because it is humanity and economy.

We must coordinate the railway systems of the country for national use, and must facilitate and promote their development with a view to that coordination and to their better adaptation as a whole to the life and trade and defense of the nation. The life and industry of the country can be free and unhampered only if these arteries are open, efficient, and complete.

Thus shall we stand ready to meet the future as circumstance and international policy effect their unfolding, whether the changes came slowly or come fast and without preface.

Interprets St. Louis Platform

I have not spoken explicitly, Gentlemen, of the platform adopted at St. Louis; but it has been implicit in all that I have said. I have sought to interpret its spirit and meaning. The people of the United States do not need to be assured now that that platform is a definite pledge, a practical programme. We have proved to them that our promises are made to be kept.

We hold very definite ideals. We believe that the energy and initiative of our people have been too narrowly coached and superintended; that they should be set free, as we have set them free, to disperse themselves throughout the nation; that they should not be concentrated in the hands of a few powerful guides and guardians, as our opponents have again and again, in effect if not in purpose, sought to concentrate them. We believe, moreover,—who that looks about him now with comprehending eye can fail to believe?—that the day of Little Americanism, with its narrow horizons, when methods of “protection” and industrial nursing were the chief study of our provincial statesmen, are past and gone and that a day of enterprise has at last dawned for the United States whose field is the wide world.

Americans for a Big America

We hope to see the stimulus of that new day draw all America, the republics of both continents, on to a new life and energy and initiative in the great affairs of peace. We are Americans for Big America, and rejoice to look forward to the days in which America shall strive to stir the world without irritating it or drawing it on to new antagonisms, when the nations with which we deal shall at last come to see upon what deep foundations of humanity and justice our passion for peace rests, and when all mankind shall look upon our great people with a new sentiment of admiration, friendly rivalry and real affection, as upon a people who, though keen to succeed, seeks always to be at once generous and just and to whom humanity is dearer than profit or selfish power.

Upon this record and in the faith of this purpose we go to the country.

DEMOCRACY'S SCROLL OF PROGRESSIVE DEEDS

Story of Accomplishment Without Equal in Nation's Entire History

This is the summary of results wrought by masterly leadership of the Democratic Party.

It is the plain review of fact which demonstrates that not since the first years of the Republic, when everything was to be done, has so much of real public moment been done during a single Administration.

It is the condensed story of domestic regeneration, material and moral; of peace and clean prosperity; of high honor for his country won by Woodrow Wilson.

It bulletins victory won again and again for popular, progressive measures and policies in the face of the forces of organized selfishness and reaction, now aligned solidly with the Republican Party and behind the candidacy of Charles Evans Hughes.

The record of achievement proves the Democratic Party the greatest agency of political reform and progress entrusted with National power in generations.

It also proves the Republican Party incompetent and criminally negligent because, during sixteen consecutive years, the Republican Party had full opportunity to enact the long bill of popular rights made operative under Woodrow Wilson in little more than three years—and not only failed but refused to do so.

THE RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT.

1

PEACE—Maintaining National honor and dignity throughout, President Wilson has kept America at peace, safe in the midst of a "world on fire," and free to serve both the welfare of her own people and the broad cause of all humanity.

2

AMERICANISM—President Wilson's doctrine of "Amer-

ica First," announced immediately after the beginning of hostilities abroad, has proven to be a virile doctrine of devotion to his country's right and best interests, in the face of constant attack both at home and from abroad.

3

PROSPERITY—Free of the horrors of war, enjoying the blessings of peace, aided by the constructive legislation and administrative enterprise of the Wilson Administration, the country has entered upon an era of prosperity hitherto unequaled in this or any other land.

4

PREPAREDNESS—As insurance against war and its losses in blood and property, a programme for immediate expansion of the army, navy and coast defences was worked out with the usual efficiency and promptness of the Wilson administration. It has now been adopted and guarantees the Nation against foreign aggression.

INTERNATIONAL.

5

EUROPEAN WAR—With skill, address and courage that has won the world's admiration, President Wilson has forced the belligerents of Europe to respect the rights of Americans and all neutrals on the high seas and has secured recognition of the rights of neutrals as defined by international law.

6

NEUTRALITY—Following traditional American policy, the President has asserted and compelled with all the means in his power observance of the national and international duty of the United States to maintain absolute neutrality toward all the nations at war in Europe. Scorning threats against his political interests, he has bravely and relentlessly trodden down disloyal endeavors to swerve him from enforcing this policy.

7

MONROE DOCTRINE AND PAN-AMERICAN AFFAIRS—Firm maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine and a new policy of absolute fair dealing with all the Republics of the Western Hemisphere has substituted a feeling of trust and confidence among the Pan-American countries for the feeling of distrust and doubt that formerly prevailed. This has resulted in agreements assuring lasting friendship and already has led to large expansion of American trade in South and Central America.

8

MEXICO—The Administration has dealt with Mexico in the kindly spirit of tolerance and forbearance, engendered by the possession of superior power and a devotion to ideals of free government. Intent upon encouraging the development of constitutional government in Mexico and fostering the feeling of kinship which his entire Latin-American policy

was building up among the Republics of this Hemisphere, the President has maintained the attitude of an indulgent friend toward the war-wracked Southern Republic, holding in reserve at all times the policy of physical force as an effective and decisive last resort.

9

PERSHING'S EXPEDITION—When the raids of Villista bandits upon American soil at Columbus, New Mexico, and other border points, which were inspired by persons intent upon provoking American intervention, made it clear that the United States should take drastic measures to prevent their recurrence, the Administration despatched a powerful column of American soldiers into Mexico, under command of Brig.-Gen. Pershing. Villa's bands were dispersed and the American troops have remained on Mexican soil to protect the border, pending an improvement in conditions which will insure against new outrages.

10

CALLING OUT NATIONAL GUARD—When a body of American troops were attacked by Mexicans at Carrizal, Mexico, in June, and 17 of their number were taken prisoners by the Carranzistas who claimed that the Americans had been the aggressors, the President unhesitatingly sent an ultimatum to the de facto Government demanding their immediate release together with all equipments and properties of the United States taken with them. At the same time, the President mobilized the National Guard in order to be prepared to back up his ultimatum if drastic measures proved necessary. The prisoners were released and the American demands promptly complied with in every way.

11

FOREIGN DIPLOMATIC RESPONSIBILITIES—The war in Europe thrust upon the foreign services of the United States the duty of representing nearly all the warring countries throughout the civilized world, as well as in belligerent territory—a task of enormous proportions which has been performed so efficiently that the suffering of millions of war stricken people has been substantially alleviated.

12

SERVICE TO AMERICANS ABROAD—Three hundred thousand Americans caught in Europe at the outbreak of the European war were afforded relief, protection and transportation home through the State Department and its Diplomatic and Consular representatives.

13

PANAMA TOLLS REPEAL—By firmly standing for strict observance of America's treaty obligations, President Wilson brought about repeal of the exemption clause of the Panama Canal Act.

14

DANISH WEST INDIES—By negotiating a treaty for the purchase of the Danish West Indies, the Wilson Administration succeeded after Republican Administrations had failed in accomplishing an important step for the protection of the Panama Canal and the Southern Atlantic Coast from naval attack.

15

EUROPEAN WAR EMERGENCY LAWS—Acting promptly and effectively, the President sponsored and Congress passed measures enabling American finance and commerce to meet the staggering blow to business dealt by the sudden outbreak of the European war.

16

JAPANESE AFFAIRS—Conspicuous success has crowned negotiations with Japan over the California Alien Land and Labor questions, so that now the most cordial and friendly relations exist between the United States and the chief power of the Orient.

17

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY—By placing the rights of nations above the dollar in determining foreign policy—by substituting for "dollar diplomacy," "decent diplomacy"—the divorcement of the Government from affiliations with special financial interests has been accomplished and the exploitation of the smaller Latin-American countries by private financial interests has ceased.

18

FOREIGN TRADE—With the substantial aid of the Federal Reserve Act and other progressive legislation and the active and fruitful help of Government administrative agencies, the foreign trade of the United States has been developed to unprecedented volume.

CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION.**19**

CURRENCY REFORM—By the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act, the industrial and commercial interests of the United States have been emancipated by Democratic agency from domination by special interests. The nation was freed from the danger of financial panics, and the foundation laid for the existing wonderful prosperity of the country.

20

RURAL CREDITS—The passage last July of the Federal Farm Loan Act remedied an imperative need entirely ignored by the Republicans for years and assures adequate means of providing capital at fair rates of interest for the further development of the agricultural resources of the United States and promises an annual saving to farmers of \$150,000,000 a year.

THIS RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT SHOWS THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY UNDER WOODROW WILSON HAS MADE GOOD.

WHY CHANGE?

AS EVERY INFORMED AMERICAN MUST HAVE OBSERVED, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY UNDER HUGHES IS SPLIT, WITH THE PARTY'S MACHINERY IN FULL CONTROL OF THE REACTIONARIES. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS UTTERLY INCAPABLE OF THE SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT IN ITS OWN COUNCILS WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO CONSTRUCTIVE PERFORMANCE.

AGAIN WHY CHANGE?

21

GOOD ROADS—In the new Federal Good Roads Law, approved by the President last July, the Democratic Administration makes available seventy-five million dollars for the development of highway systems throughout the United States, under safeguards which prevent wasteful use of the money.

22

TARIFF REVISION DOWNWARD—In keeping with the platform pledge of 1912, the Democratic party revised the tariff downward, and put the Underwood Tariff Law upon the Statute Books, thus unfettering industry and commerce, depriving monopoly of its former control over production, distribution and prices, and providing adequate customs revenue for the maintenance of the Government.

23

INCOME TAX—The Income Tax Law, opposed by the Republican Party for a generation, shifts the burden of taxation from those least able to pay to those best able to pay.

24

TARIFF COMMISSION BILL—In this measure, creating a tariff commission, the Wilson Administration takes an important step towards eliminating the tariff from politics and affords assurance of protection to American manufacturers against any emergency which may follow the close of the war in Europe.

25

WAR REVENUE—To meet the cost of "Preparedness" the Wilson program increases the income tax, provides for an inheritance tax and levies a special tax upon munitions of war. Many Republican members of Congress have voted for this plan.

26

AMENDMENT OF ALDRICH-VREELAND ACT—Congress promptly followed the recommendation of the Wilson Administration in August, 1914, by so amending the then useless Aldrich-Vreeland Act as to make it an effective aid in the period of tense financial strain occasioned by the war abroad.

27

THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION—This new Commission in the year and one-half of its operation with signal success has supplied the demand for a tribunal to arbitrate commercial disputes, to prevent "unfair competition," and to do justice between the public and the great industrial corporations.

28

DIRECT ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS—A reform inspired and carried into effect by Democrats, which does much to restore popular Government at Washington.

29

SHIP PURCHASE ACT AND THE MERCHANT MARINE—By persistence in the face of determined opposition by Republican reactionaries, the new Shipping Law for the development of an American merchant marine was passed last August. A series of prior progressive Democratic enactments, including the Ship Registry Act and the law creating the War Risk Bureau, already had done much to aid American shipping and the new law is certain to cause a quick and much larger expansion of our merchant navy.

30

SEAMAN'S ACT AND SAFETY AT SEA—By a series of laws, chief of which is the Seaman's Act, working conditions of sailors in the American merchant service are improved and precautions are taken to avoid the fearful loss of life at sea that accompanied the Titanic disaster.

31

REVISION OF TRUST LAWS—In the face of persistent opposition of the special interests and at a time when the greatest international questions pressed upon the President and Congress, a complete revision of the anti-trust laws was secured and is now in force.

32

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION—Under the Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension Act elaborate machinery has been put into operation by Woodrow Wilson that involved the expenditure of nearly five million dollars during the last fiscal year, a sum which will increase automatically year by year until 1922, for the dissemination of scientific knowledge

concerning farm operation and management. This law is expected to double the productiveness of American farms.

33

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION—A model measure has passed both Houses and will extend this protection to thousands of Government employees.

34

LABOR'S MAGNA CHARTA—Laws have been enacted preventing the abuse of the injunction in labor disputes and legally declaring the labor of a human being not a commodity open to barter and sale like inanimate things.

35

CHILD LABOR LAW—President Wilson's personal intervention brought about the enactment of this important social justice measure which uses the Federal Power to emancipate children from industrial oppression.

36

EIGHT-HOUR DAY—To the laws passed by the Democratic majority of the House in the Sixty-second Congress applying the eight-hour day to all work done by the Government whether directly or by contract, has been added the act requiring the eight-hour workday for women in the District of Columbia.

37

INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYEES ARBITRATION ACT—A law secured by the President that establishes the United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation and affords the Government better facilities for preventing or settling great railway and industrial strikes.

38

COTTON FUTURES ACT—Gambling in cotton is dealt a death blow by a cotton futures law enacted by Democrats after the subject had been evaded by Republicans for two decades.

39

GRAIN STANDARDS—A law giving the Secretary of Agriculture authority to establish official grain standards, simplifying relations between grain producers, dealers and consumers, was enacted last August.

40

U. S. WAREHOUSE ACT—Warehouse receipts are made more acceptable collateral which enables owners of stored products to obtain loans more nearly approximating the full value of their products.

41

ALASKAN RAILWAY—In providing for the Alaskan Railway, which is now being rapidly pushed to completion, the Wilson Administration took the one step necessary to "open up Alaska."

42

CONSERVATION—A series of new laws supplement effective policies of administrative action in the Interior and Agriculture Departments. Large American resources are opened to development; and monopolization, overuse or misuse of the remaining timber, mineral, oil and land resources of the country is prevented.

43

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE—In a new Philippine Law, a greater measure of freedom is allowed the Filipinos and their ultimate independence is assured.

44

CHANGE OF HOUSE RULES—Keeping its pledges in the campaign of 1910, the Democratic House of the 62nd Congress abolished the system of czarism which so long had put the House in full control of a small group of men representing the special interests. The new and liberal rules then adopted have been continued in effect under Democratic majorities during the 62d and 64th Congresses.

EXECUTIVE.**45**

THE PRESIDENT'S DEVOTION TO DUTY—The Record of Achievement has been made possible by the President's unceasing labor, firmness, clear thought and infinite patience and self-sacrifice.

46

THE LOBBY—Fearless exposure of "invisible government" at Washington has driven the lobby from the National Capital.

47

POPULAR GOVERNMENT RESTORED—Government of, for and by the people of the United States has been restored at Washington by President Wilson and the Democrats. The President led the fight for a series of legislative reforms to this end, has enforced these measures after enactment and has applied the rule of the public first throughout the government service.

48

UNEMPLOYMENT—An intelligence system has been put in operation in the Department of Labor which brings the jobless man and the manless job together.

49

CLOSE RELATIONS WITH CONGRESS—By appearing at the Capitol in person and addressing Congress upon urgent questions, the President gave emphasis to his belief in a return to Government by public discussion and brought about team-work between the Executive and Congress which has been the marvel of the country.

50

GENUINE TRUST DISSOLUTION—The Department of Justice under President Wilson has enforced real dissolution of monopolies and combinations adjudged unlawful in lieu of the sham dissolution characterizing the outcome of trust cases under the Taft and Roosevelt administrations.

51

CLARIFYING TRUST LAWS—The Department of Justice has done much to bring about more exact definition of the anti-trust laws, and thus has practically ended the uncertainty as to the legality or illegality of many practices. This has developed a spirit of co-operation which has led to the settlement of great trust cases by the now famous "consent decrees" which avoid years of expensive litigation and uncertainty.

52

POST OFFICE SELF-SUPPORTING—In the fiscal year ended June 30 last, the Post Office returned a profit of \$5,742,445.20, and during the four fiscal years of the Wilson Administration a net surplus has been recorded as contrasted with deficits of \$48,739,637 for Roosevelt's second term and of \$26,495,914 for Taft's term.

53

PARCEL POST—This service has broken up an extortionate monopoly by the private express companies and has been developed from a mere shell to the most gigantic, useful and far-reaching express service in the world.

54

POSTAL SAVINGS—Deposits in the Postal Savings System have increased from \$30,000,000 to more than \$85,000,000 under the Wilson Administration. The law has been amended liberalizing the conditions under which deposits may be made, thus vastly expanding this System as a means of keeping money in circulation.

55

CROP MOVING—By placing the surplus funds of the United States Treasury directly into the banks of the South and West, at crop moving periods, the Wilson Administration has greatly aided the movement of crops to market and has put an end to the practice of previous administrations of concentrating these much needed funds in the New York banks.

56

INTEREST ON GOVERNMENT DEPOSITS—By requiring two per cent. interest on the deposits in the banks of the country the former practice of allowing favorite banks the use of huge sums of the people's money free has been ended and more than one million dollars revenue derived annually.

57**DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE REORGANIZED—**

The Department of Commerce has been reorganized with the result that the work of its several important Bureaus has become of vast practical value to industry and the general business of the country.

58

PROMOTION OF COMMERCE—Facilities for aiding American conquests of foreign markets have been added and administered with conspicuous success through the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce.

59

NATIONAL PARKS—Administration of the National Parks System has been reorganized so that travel and accommodations in the parks have been much improved, and the legend, "See America First," has added attractions and following.

60

IMPROVED MARKETING SYSTEM—The organization by the Department of Agriculture of an Office of Markets and Rural Organization applies scientific and modern business methods toward the elimination of waste in transporting and distributing farm products.

61

HELPING THE FARMER'S WIFE—The Secretary of Agriculture has made the introduction of labor saving devices and of new methods of improving farm domestic conditions an especial feature of his great Department's expanded activities, and to that end has secured the services of thousands of women who serve as demonstrators of the latest and most economical methods.

62

INDIAN REFORMS—The great Indian reservations have been made larger contributors to the Nation's food supply and a vocational system of education has been introduced which prepares Indian youth for competition in later life with white men and women. Introduction of a cost-accounting system has affected large savings in the administration of Indian affairs.

63

THE "CONSTITUTION OF PEACE"—The President's famous "Constitution of Peace" policy resulted in the voluntary breaking up of interlocking directorates, which all admit have been the backbone of the trust system.

64

NEW LAND POLICY—The new public land policy of the Secretary of the Interior combines conservation and the proper use of the land of our national domain. More than 20,000,000 acres of lands withdrawn by prior administrations

have been restored to public entry. The policy is that the land should be used for the purpose for which it is best fitted, and that it should be disposed of by the Government with respect to that use under such conditions as to prevent monopoly, and under certain well-defined restrictions and limitations. To this policy the West is reconciled.

65

RURAL SANITATION AND VOCATIONAL DISEASES—The vital importance of directing the federal power and resources to the conservation and protection of health has been recognized by the expansion of the Public Health Service into a highly useful agency for attacking the problems of rural sanitation and of industrial and vocational diseases.

66

OLEO LAW ENFORCED—Over \$1,000,000 back taxes have been collected and the fraudulent sale of oleomargarine has been stopped through the Treasury's vigorous enforcement of the oleomargarine law.

The Republican party, seeking some issue, just any issue upon which to hang the slightest hope of returning to power, is driven to the necessity of denouncing in its own platform, adopted at Chicago, the vote of a majority of its own members in the House and Senate upon practically all of the reform measures that have been written into law by the Democratic party. They declare we "favor an effective system of rural credits as opposed to the ineffective law proposed by the present Democratic administration." **BY THIS DECLARATION THEY CHARGE PRACTICALLY EVERY REPUBLICAN IN THE SENATE AND ALMOST EVERY REPUBLICAN IN THE HOUSE WITH HAVING VOTED FOR AN INEFFECTIVE RURAL CREDIT LAW, WHICH HAS PASSED BOTH THE SENATE AND HOUSE. IN THE SENATE THE VOTE WAS 57 TO 5; IN THE HOUSE 295 TO 10.**—Ollie M. James as Permanent Chairman of the Democratic National Convention.

I AM WILLING, NO MATTER WHAT MY PERSONAL FORTUNES MAY BE, TO PLAY FOR THE VERDICT OF MANKIND. PERSONALLY, IT WILL BE A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE TO ME WHAT THE VERDICT ON THE 7TH OF NOVEMBER IS, PROVIDED I FEEL ANY DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE THAT WHEN A LATER JURY SITS, I SHALL GET THEIR JUDGMENT IN MY FAVOR. NOT IN MY FAVOR PERSONALLY—WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES THAT MAKE?—BUT IN MY FAVOR AS AN HONEST AND CONSCIENTIOUS SPOKESMAN OF A GREAT NATION.—WOODROW WILSON.

APPEAL FOR LIGHT FOR SIXTEEN MILLION VOTERS

Let Mr. Hughes and the Republican Party Answer

DO you favor repeal of the Federal Reserve Act passed by a Democratic Congress, recommended and approved by President Wilson, under which the danger of financial panics is forever banished from the United States?

* * * *

Would you have protested against the violation of Belgian neutrality and have backed the protest by plunging America into the European carnival of slaughter?

* * * *

Do you favor repeal of the Rural Credits Act, passed by a Democratic Congress, recommended and approved by President Wilson, which gives long-term credit at interest rates that promise an annual saving of \$150,000,000 to the farmers?

* * * *

Would you have recognized Victoriano Huerta as President of Mexico?

* * * *

Do you favor repeal of the Clayton Anti-trust Act, passed by a Democratic Congress, recommended and approved by President Wilson, which overthrew the principle that the labor of a human being is a mere commodity of commerce?

* * * *

Will you, Mr. Hughes, recommend, and will the Republican Party in Congress support a law establishing universal compulsory military service in the United States?

* * * *

Do you advocate repeal of the Federal Trade Commission Act, passed by a Democratic Congress, recommended and approved by President Wilson, which has given so much assistance to legitimate business enterprises and under which adequate protection against unfair competition is provided?

* * * *

Mr. Hughes, would you have tried the policy of diplomatic negotiation as a means of summoning the moral force of law and neutral opinion to stop Germany's illegal use of submarines?

* * * *

Do you favor repeal of the "porkless" Good Roads Act, passed by a Democratic Congress and approved by President Wilson, for the development of rural highways?

* * * *

Would you, Mr. Hughes, have broken relations with Germany and sent our young men by the hundreds of thousands to nameless graves at the bottom of the Atlantic or in Flanders before the policy of diplomatic negotiation had had thorough trial?

* * *

Will you undertake to repeal the income tax, passed by a Democratic Congress, recommended and approved by President Wilson, which places a just share of the burden of taxation upon those best able to bear it?

* * *

Do you favor violating neutrality and risking the future safety of your country by placing an embargo on munitions of war?

Do you favor repeal of the Agricultural Extension Act, passed by a Democratic Congress, recommended and approved by President Wilson, which for the first time provides facilities for carrying direct to the farmer practical scientific knowledge of how to increase the profits of his farm?

* * * *

Do you favor intervention in Mexico?

* * * *

Do you advocate repeal of the Grain Standards and Warehouse Acts, passed by a Democratic Congress, recommended and approved by President Wilson, which aid commerce in the great staple cereals and enable owners of stored agricultural products to secure loans on warehouse receipts on better terms?

* * * *

What is your attitude towards the disloyalists of your party who have attempted to prevent the enforcement by President Wilson, both on the part of the American government and by all American citizens, of an honest neutrality towards all the warring nations of Europe?

* * * *

Inasmuch as the largest amount collected in any one year under the highest tariff ever enacted (Payne-Aldrich Act) was \$333,000,000, what form of taxation would you substitute to pay a "Preparedness" cost of \$630,000,000?

* * * *

Do you favor the reactionary Republican plan of granting huge subsidies to favored corporations, money collected from the people by taxation, as the best way of encouraging the development of an American merchant marine?

* * * *

Do you favor repeal of the Child Labor Law, the Anti-Injunction Law, the Seaman's Act and related social justice measures of high importance, passed by a Democratic Congress and recommended and approved by President Wilson?

* * * *

Do you favor re-enactment of the Payne-Aldrich Act which betrayed your party's campaign pledge of 1908 and which has been repudiated by many Republican and all Progressive leaders?

* * * *

Do you stand with those Progressives and progressive Republicans in Congress who voted for practically all the progressive Democratic measures mentioned above, or do you stand with the reactionary Republicans who voted against them?

* * * *

IN CONCLUSION—

President Wilson and the Democratic Party submit their case to the American people on the record they have made. Broadly speaking that is the issue of the campaign. Upon the public survey and estimate of that record depends the outcome of the election.

If, as charged by you, Mr. Hughes, and your supporters, that record is bad and does not justify the continued confidence of the country it will become your duty, if elected, to do all in your power to change that record. We submit that in all fairness the American people, for whose verdict you are contesting, are entitled to know how much of this record you and your party will attempt to destroy if placed in power.

A DECADENT PARTY.

(From the Philadelphia North American, June 15, 1916).

THE Republican convention of 1912, which stole a nomination and bestowed it upon a man who received fewer electoral votes than any other candidate in the history of the party, made a record in political criminality. But at least it had vigor and audacity and powerful leadership. Besides achieving notoriety, it extorted that sort of unwilling admiration which one gives to the daring buccaneer.

The Republican convention of 1916 revealed no virtues which the other lacked; and it could not lay claim even to the doubtful distinction won by its ignoble predecessor. It was vicious without being virile. It was not only degraded, but dull.

References have appeared in some newspapers to the employment of a "steam roller." The idea is quite erroneous. In the convention of this once mighty, efficient and patriotic party there were not to be found even the detached parts from which such an engine might have been constructed. And, had the parts been available, there was not present a mechanic competent to assemble it. * * * A large number of them were either accomplices in the criminal procedure of 1912; more than a hundred others were representatives of the German-American Alliance.

As a whole, the convention was made up of stolid partisans, who had no ideas higher than manoeuvring for party advantage and, if possible, insuring party victory. Of genuine national feeling and patriotic sentiment there was not a trace. The only manifestations of this kind came from the galleries. * * *

The utter absence of patriotic spirit or even of intelligent realization of current problems was emphasized by the fact that once the delegates did show signs of animation. They cheered for nine minutes the name of William H. Taft, while the citizens in the gallery looked down upon the scene in dumb astonishment.

An observer with a taste for statistics made known the suggestive circumstances that the average age of the delegates was about 60 years. This would account for their satisfaction over the "keynote" address of Chairman Harding, which consisted largely of ornate reminiscences of ancient Republican history—a sort of Old Home Week oration for the party.

References to such vital present-day themes as Americanism and preparedness evoked little interest and not the slightest enthusiasm. * * * Not once was its national convention moved by a genuine impulse of patriotism or national consciousness. * * * The Republican party is decadent. * * * The Republican party as it now stands is bereft of ability, of vision, of patriotism, of leadership, of conscience. * * * Virtue has gone from it, and unless an unforeseen miracle of regeneration can be worked, it is doomed to sink into unhonored decrepitude.

WILSON'S DEMAND FOR MEXICO IS—JUSTICE

Story of President's Courageous Refusal to Force Armed Inter- vention Upon a Helpless People

PRESIDENT WILSON'S faith in democracy and the unselfishness of the United States in international dealings have been so strikingly expressed in his Mexican policy that it may be said to constitute the greatest contribution which the country has made in many years to the progressive thought of mankind.

While Europe suffered the throes of the most horrible war that ever has afflicted humanity, the United States under President Wilson's guidance, maintained peace with her stricken neighbor, holding fast to the principle that a small nation's sovereignty is entitled to the same consideration as that of a great Power.

Frowning upon two elements of our citizenship who sought to compel the Government to undertake armed intervention in Mexico—that section of the property holders who wanted intervention as a measure of protecting their private investments, and the politicians of the opposition who were willing to work any injustice in order to advance their partisanship—the President has steadily refused to take any course not consistent with Mexico's right to solve her own internal problems.

Two considerations have animated the President in the formulation of his Mexican policy and have compelled his adherence in it throughout his administration, namely:

The firm conviction that all nations, both the weak and the powerful, have the inviolable right to control their internal affairs.

The belief, established upon the history of the world, that Mexico will never become a peaceful and law-abiding neighbor of the United States until she has been permitted to achieve a permanent and basic settlement of her troubles without outside interference.

In applying these principles, the President has been animated by a generous spirit of forbearance inspired by the possession of superior power and by a desire to aid rather than coerce a sister republic. Thus he has not been as ready to turn to the effective last resort of physical force to assure the protection of the rights of American citizens and to compel compliance with the demands of this Government as he might have been had Mexico been better able to protect herself. Limitations to this forbearance were fixed in his mind, however, and on three occasions it became necessary for him to disclose them. The first demonstration of the iron firmness which lay back of the President's sympathy

THE WHY AND WHEREFORE

WE TOOK VERA CRUZ—

- To back up Admiral Mayo's demand for an atonement of the deliberate insult to the United States flag and uniform at Tampico;
- To show Mexico that Huerta, the despot and murderer in temporary authority at Mexico City, must go.

WE EVACUATED VERA CRUZ—

- Because Huerta had fled and neither he nor his representatives remained to accord the atonement (salute of the flag) demanded by the United States;
- And because the return to Mexican administration of Mexico's chief port was a necessity preliminary to the establishment of conditions under which a constitutional government could be set up in Mexico.

WE SENT PERSHING INTO MEXICO—

- To capture Villa, if possible, and to break up the bands of Villista outlaws behind the Columbus raid—and this it has in large part accomplished.

WE MOBILIZED THE MILITIA AT THE BORDER—

- To protect American soil, property and lives against further incursions of marauding bands;
- To enforce our ultimatum demanding the release of the American soldiers captured at Carrizal;
- And to be prepared to enforce proper recognition of American dignity and rights by the de facto (or Carranza) government of Mexico.

WE HAVE AVOIDED INTERVENTION IN MEXICO AND HENCE HAVE AVOIDED WAR BETWEEN A POWERFUL AND WELL-ARMED NATION AND A WEAK AND BANKRUPT NATION, BECAUSE PRESIDENT WILSON HAS REFUSED TO ALLOW THE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF MEXICO AND OF ALL THE NATIONS OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE TO BE OUTWEIGHED BY SELFISH PARTISAN OR PROPERTY CONSIDERATIONS.

for Mexico came in 1914, in the attack on Vera Cruz which drove Victoriano Huerta, the insolent and murderous despot at Mexico City, from power. It was demonstrated again when interventionist conspirators crossed the American border and killed American citizens at Columbus, and, finally, when American soldiers were attacked by Mexicans at Carrizal.

The Wilson Mexican policy is of a piece with the new statesmanship which will regulate the international affairs of the world when the lessons of the European war have been learned and applied. One of the safeguards which civilization is sure to set up against a recurrence of such a war as is now being waged, is an instrumentality to protect the sovereign rights of weak nations. The world is moving inevitably toward a new era wherein nations will recognize and be held to the same moral code that is now recognized by individuals. Conscience, and not the possession of superior power, will dictate a Republic's policy toward a smaller sister Republic.

In advance of the formulation of these principles into an international code and while Europe was atoning for her failure to recognize them, President Wilson has applied them directly in his conduct of American relations with

Mexico. At times Mexico has transgressed the custom and practice of nations which would be applied under the mandates of the most advanced international courts, and in the absence of such mandates, the United States has of necessity done its own police work. Thus it will be seen that America once again, through the operation of this Mexican policy, has arisen to the pioneer service of mankind. **THUS IT WILL BE SEEN THAT WHEN MANKIND BEGINS TO APPLY THE PRINCIPLES WHICH WILL PREVENT FUTURE WARS, THIS AMERICAN PRINCIPLE OF THE INVIOABILITY OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF SMALL NATIONS WILL BE PLACED FIRST IN THE CODE.**

ALL LATIN AMERICA INVOLVED.

Our relations with Mexico have been so closely interwoven with our relations with the other Republics of the Western Hemisphere that it was impossible for the President to conduct the one without regard to the other. All Latin America looked on intently as the United States dealt with Mexico. Suspicion, which had been engendered by the long years of misunderstanding and mistrust, preceding Mr. Wilson's Administration, made the Mexican policy in the eyes of our neighbors a real test of the sincerity of the friendly protestations the United States was making to all the Governments of America. The more fortunate Republics of Central and South America clearly were of the conviction that they could expect no better treatment for themselves in less fortunate circumstances than the United States would mete out to Mexico.

A clear conception of the Mexican policy is possible only when one realizes that coincidentally with the handling of the Mexican situation the President has been engaged in formulating a co-operative policy for Pan-America. This policy was designed not only to promote trade relations whereby the prosperity of the United States would be increased, but also to develop a sort of international brotherhood here in this hemisphere which will serve as a model for all mankind. The Mexican policy has accomplished a great deal in this respect. It has quieted the suspicions of Latin America. **FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OUR HISTORY THE LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS ARE AT HEART FRIENDS OF THE UNITED STATES.** Friendships are the most valuable resources of nations as well as individuals; and in strengthening the bonds of good-will between the Republics of this hemisphere Mr. Wilson has rendered a patriotic service of highest order.

The sincerity of the unselfish friendship of the United States was put to the test in Mexico and as a result of the manner in which that test was met and of its effects upon our relations with other Governments, we are better prepared for the uncertainties of a future which may be troublous. Indeed, it is a far cry from the attitude of suspicion general among Latin Americans at the time of Mr. Taft's withdrawal from the Presidency to a condition of international amity in this hemisphere wherein the following important

statement from Senor Suarez, the Chilean Ambassador to the United States, could escape comment from the newspapers of the country, supposedly because it had ceased to be news:

"Side by side with the thinker stands the statesman who has radically changed the relations among the people in this continent and has built an American international policy of mutual esteem and co-operation in these very moments praised and applauded by the whole continent.

"It is not the first time that, from the very august chair to which he has been elevated by the love and respect of his fellow citizens, the President of the United States—now in our midst—appeals to the sentiments of the American countries in behalf of the welfare and progress of our Americas. The strengthening of constitutional government throughout all nations in the continent, the vigor and purity of our democracies and the mutual cooperation for the defense of our national rights and privileges have been the salient features of his continental policy, and when the moment came of showing with deeds the absolute sincerity of his fraternal principles, as was the case in the unfortunate circumstances which gave rise to the mediation conference at Niagara Falls, he has without any hesitation whatever placed his authority and his influence on the side of peace and love among the sister nations."

HISTORY'S CERTAIN VERDICT.

No American whose perceptions have not been clouded by selfishness or misleading propagandas can escape a feeling of pride when the principles on which the President's policy was based are fully comprehended. It is indeed a matter of deep and sober gratification to realize that when the great intellects of the future turn back the pages of history to study the origin of the movement designed to make an end of all ambitious and greedy wars, they must add another tribute to the list which mankind has awarded America for her unselfish services.

How intense and incapable of being altered by partisan assaults must be the pride which Mr. Wilson himself feels in the contribution he has enabled his country to make to the noble ideals of mankind. It can be understood best by recalling an incident in the early days of his Administration, when Mr. Wilson expressed to an inconspicuous little woman with whom he was conversing in his White House office, the hope that there would be no war during his Administration. That was before the outbreak of the European war and before the interventionist hydra had reared its head in America. One had to turn to history for an appreciation of war's horrors and for a contrast with the tender mercies of our day of peace. Since that time Mexico has placed a severe restraint upon the President's efforts to maintain peace throughout his Administration. There have been times when war seemed almost inevitable, but each test has been met by firmness and a consistent adherence to the ideals which

Mr. Wilson recognized. And so the President stands to-day, attacked as bitterly as Lincoln ever was attacked.

There have been times when the counselling of selfishness, if listened to, might have withdrawn the President from the path he has followed. Criticism and malicious partisanship have made the path difficult thruout and always there has been the probability that his personal fortunes would be served best were he to adopt the easy course of sending the American army into Mexico. The President has not sought anything in his own behalf, however.

"I am willing," said President Wilson in reference to his Mexican critics, "no matter what my personal fortunes may be, to play for the verdict of mankind. Personally it will be a matter of indifference to me what the verdict on the 7th of November is, provided I feel any degree of confidence that when a later jury sits I shall get their judgment in my favor. Not my favor personally—what difference does that make?—but my favor as an honest and conscientious spokesman of a great national convention."

It is impossible to grasp the vital significance of President Wilson's Mexican policy without a broad knowledge of conditions which had prevailed in Mexico before President Wilson was inaugurated. The Mexican problem in its present form had existed for the American Government ever since our frontier was extended to the Rio Grande. There had been peaceful periods, in which for the most part order had been maintained and international obligations fulfilled, but intermittently there had arisen provocative circumstances similar in character to those with which President Wilson has had to deal. The peace and order which was thus capable of being interrupted was a superimposed peace and order, and not a normal expression of the contentment of a self-regulated people. When the people maintained the peace it was because they were forced to do so, and not because justice reigned in the land. Thus it was that the history of Mexico, like the history of every aspiring people, pressed

To Candidate Hughes:—

You are frank in stating that Huerta's morals were of no concern to America. Does this mean that you would have recognized Huerta?

One of ten questions addressed to Mr. Hughes August 1, 1916, by thirty-six famous American authors.

There is only one way for parties and individuals to win the confidence of this Nation, and that is by doing the things that ought to be done. Nobody is going to be deceived. Speeches are not going to win elections.—Woodrow Wilson.

upon President Wilson's consideration the truth that no permanent good relations could exist between this great Northern Republic and the one immediately to the south of us until she had been left free to put her house in order, however painful that process might be and whatever the demands it might make upon the forbearance of the United States. Let us summarize the historical conditions which had given rise to the Mexican trouble of the Wilson Administration:

THE DIAZ TYRANNY.

Porfirio Diaz, surrounded by the old feudal lords of his feudal states—the great Spanish-Mexican landlords, mine owners, generals and advocates—called for foreign capital in Mexico, and it came; American, French, English, German, Belgian; and it got what it came for. At first, the concessions granted were reasonably fair. The privileged persons became powerful. They formed a ring called the “Friends of Diaz,” and, as he grew old, he fell more and more under the influence of these men who controlled the natural resources of the country. They formed a political party, self-styled “Cientifico” because the programme was to develop, according to modern, scientific methods, the resources of Mexico.

Railroads were built; telegraph and telephones were installed; old mines were reopened; new mines discovered; oil was struck; lands in great tracts were cultivated and made productive; later, factories and new industries were established. Under the stress of competition for concessions, the foreigners, Americans among them, bribed the “Friends of Diaz” or took Cientificos into business with them as partners or shareholders, and, then to hold what they had or to get more, they corrupted the little political bosses, the legislatures and the Congress, and the courts. Mexico was more corrupt than any American state ever was and for this reason: Not only American methods of corruption, but all the corrupting arts of all countries represented by the foreign capitalists were mixed and perfected there.

Labor was cheap and good. Slow and unskilled, it was patient, willing, obedient, teachable. But principally it was cheap. A few cents, gold, a day was good pay. Thence came the trouble.

As Mexico grew rich, the Mexicans grew poor.

The masters had Diaz reintroduce and extend the peonage system, under which a worker and his children were bound by debt to the land, mines or factories. A peon who left a master could be brought back by the *jefes politico* (political bosses), who had all the machinery of law and the army at their call. There was no escape for the worker except when one master outbid another in bribes to the *jefe politico*. Sometimes, toward the end, the workers on the land or in a factory would strike, but Diaz sent his soldiers and ruthlessly cut them down. There never was a successful strike in Mexico in the days of Diaz; there were few of any sort.

The Mexican people had from the earliest times possessed

THE LONG WAY THE WRONG WAY.

I WAS trying to expound in another place the other day the long way and the short way to get together. The long way is to fight. I hear some gentlemen say that they want to help Mexico, and the way they propose to help her is to overwhelm her with force. That is the long way to help Mexico as well as the wrong way. After the fighting you have a nation full of justified suspicion and animated by well-founded hostility and hatred, and then will you help them? Then will you establish cordial business relationships with them? Then will you go in as neighbors and enjoy their confidence? On the contrary, you will have shut every door as if it were of steel against you. What makes Mexico suspicious of us is that she does not believe as yet that we want to serve her. She believes that we want to possess her, and she has justification for the belief in the way in which some of our fellow-citizens have tried to exploit her privileges and possessions. For my part, I will not serve the ambitions of these gentlemen, but I will try to serve all America, so far as intercourse with Mexico is concerned, by trying to serve Mexico herself.—President Wilson's Address to Salesmanship Congress, Detroit, Mich., July 10, 1916.

land. Around each village was an ample circle of soil called "Communal," which was open to any native of the community to use as he chose. And many a Mexican chose to work upon this communal land or his own little rancho, rather than in the mines or on the large plantations. Some Indian tribes held in common great stretches of country, and never did work for wages. It was really only the natural service of the individuals enslaved by debt who went out to work for the masters, and they had relatives and friends who, free at home, kept up the atmosphere and the hope of liberty in Mexico. Diaz took away from his people their communal lands.

His people resisted, and he had to use fraud and force. His troops had to kill off some tribes completely and break up others by shipping the most spirited of them into actual slavery in Yucatan and tropical Mexico, where they died like flies.

The grand, the underlying cause of the Mexican revolution was the will of the Mexican people to be free and independent. The dramatic setting of the first revolt shows that. The Centennial of Mexico was opened in Mexico City in September, 1910. It was, supposedly, a celebration of the victory of Mexican independence from foreign control, but really it was a glorification of Diaz and his delivery of Mexico into foreign control. But the Mexicans understood and on November 20, before the last of the foreign visitors

was gone, the Mexican people had risen in arms and the revolution, which has been going on all the five years since, was begun.

MADERO'S FAILURE.

A poor little rich man's son led it: Francisco I. Madero. One of a large, rich and very powerful Mexican family, he had been educated in Europe and the United States and, inspired with the "radical notions" of the cafes and the labor unions, he had been going about Mexico preaching to the peons and workers at the cross roads and street corners "land, liberty and free elections, and no re-elections to a constitutional government." Diaz and his friends, Madero's own family, regarded Pancho Madero as crazy, and they let him go on as harmless. But the people heard him gladly; they followed him and by the beginning of 1911, Mexico was afire with a new hope. Madero had to flee to the United States, but on May 10 the revolutionists took Juarez. Madero entered the city, and on May 26, Diaz, who knew his people, resigned and departed from Mexico City in an armored train to Vera Cruz, whence he sailed away in a foreign battleship to Europe.

The tyrant was gone, the tyranny remained.

The "Friends of Diaz," who did not know the people, the Cientificos, stayed. They made de la Barra, one of themselves, provisional President, but Madero at the head of his revolutionary troops, entered Mexico City and became the actual head of the Government. He was elected titular president on October 2. Meanwhile, however, the Cientificos, the Madero family leading, surrounded Madero and possessed him. Venustiano Carranza, one of Madero's original leaders in the North, went to Mexico City, saw what was happening, and he warned President Madero.

Just as some of them helped start Madero's revolution, so the foreigners in Mexico assisted at his downfall and caused the other revolutions. There were exceptions, some Americans favored Madero and his ideals, but generally the foreigners hated the revolution and all its works and words, and so they joined, both openly and privately, with Huerta and the little group of privileged Cientificos in their plot for a "palace revolution" against the revolution of the people.

The plot was not to set up Huerta but a more "regular" government with a man like Felix Diaz as the dummy President. Diaz's name was used to gain foreign credit. But Huerta was in charge. A friend of Madero and his general-in-chief, he was also in command of the conspirators. He had the city thrown into disorder; started mock battles which, however, ran the streets with blood, for the fighters thought the battles were real, and they killed one another by the hundreds. Decane Tragica—the ten tragic days of that pitched battle within the City of Mexico were indeed a reign of terror, and Huerta, in command of both sides, ordered Madero's loyal regiments to march up to the machine guns of the enemy, until they were killed or mangled in the streets. When Huerta thought the city had enough of terror

he stopped the bloody sham and on February 18, arrested President Madero, Madero's Cabinet and his loyal brother, Gustavo. And he shot Gustavo that night. The next day by the false pretense that it was for the good of Mexico, he obtained the resignations of President Madero and Vice-President Suarez. He did not pass on the power as the plotters had planned, however, but he proclaimed himself dictator. Two days later, on February 22d, Madero and Suarez were both treacherously shot "while trying to escape"—a fiction repeated so often in Mexico as to deceive no one.

Huerta made use of his control of the Federal army at Mexico City to establish himself in the seat of the murdered President Madero. Then he sent this message to President Taft:

"I have overthrown the Government, and henceforth peace and order will reign."

TAFT WATCHED AND WAITED.

President Taft did not alter the policy he had evolved for dealing with Mexico. It was a policy of cautious waiting, the character of which was emphasized by Mr. Taft in March, 1912, when he threw the weight of his administration against an intervention resolution introduced in the Senate as a result of the killing of a number of American citizens by Mexicans at the Arizona border. Mr. Taft's views as to America's duty were not changed by the events occurring at Mexico City in the closing days of his administration, as was shown by his utterance at Washington February 26, when he said:

"We must not in a case like Mexico—for it differs from the Central American Republics—take such action as shall give them to believe that we are moved by selfish purposes, or arouse them to opposition to us. We must avoid in every way that which is called intervention, and use all the patience possible, with the prayer that some power may arise there to bring about peace throughout that troubled country. * * * But I have no sympathy—none at all, and the charge of cowardice does not

VITALIZING CHRISTIANITY.

THE most vitalizing thing in the world is Christianity. The world has advanced, advanced in what we regard as real civilization, not by material but by spiritual means, and one nation is distinguished from another nation by its ideals, not by its possessions; by what it believes in, by what it lives by; by what it intends; by the visions which its young men dream and the achievements which its men of maturity attempt.—President Wilson's Address before Federal Council of Churches at Columbus, Ohio, December 10, 1915.

frighten me—with that which prompts us for purposes of exploitation and gain to invade another country and involve ourselves in a war, the extent of which we could not realize, and the sacrifice of thousands of lives and of millions of treasure.”

A precedent still more important than the Taft policy existed for policy Mr. Wilson was to follow. It was the policy followed by President Lincoln in a similarly unsettled period of Mexico's history. That policy was enunciated by Mr. Lincoln through this communication from his Secretary of State:

“For a few years past the condition of Mexico has been so unsettled as to raise the question on both sides of the Atlantic whether the time has not come when some foreign power ought, in the interest of society generally, to intervene—to establish a protectorate or some form of government in that country and guarantee its continuance there. You will not fail to assure the Government of Mexico that the President neither has, nor can ever have, any sympathy with such designs, in whatever quarter they may arise or whatever character they may take on. The President never for a moment doubts that the republican system is to pass safely through all ordeals and prove a permanent success in our own country, and so be recommended to adoption by all other nations. But he thinks also that the system everywhere has to make its way painfully through difficulties and embarrassments which result from the action of antagonistic elements which are a legacy of former times and very different institutions. The President is hopeful of the ultimate triumph of this system over all obstacles as well in regard to Mexico as in regard to every other American State; but he feels that those States are nevertheless justly entitled to a greater forbearance and more generous sympathies from the Government and people of the United States than they are likely to receive in any other quarter.”

AN INHERITED PROBLEM.

Thus the stage was set for President Wilson. Thus developed one of the most burdensome legacies that one American President ever handed down to another. The first decision which the President was called upon to make was between the recognition and the non-recognition of Huerta. The facts were clear and beyond partisan argumentation.

On the one hand, the President could recognize the dictator, thus throwing the tremendous moral support of the United States upon his side; and, so to speak, clamp his Government down upon the aspirations of the Mexican people. Some of the President's advisers, who believe that the United States should be guided only by consideration for its selfish interests, thought this the wise thing for him to do. They believed that the United States could well afford to sacrifice Mexican liberties in order to facilitate the establishment of an orderly period in which American lives and American

property would be safe. Even that justification has been removed, however, by subsequent disclosures, for it is known now that Huerta would have had the greatest difficulty in maintaining his control of the government even if he had had the moral support of the United States. His hold upon the government was a slender one and he was incapable of dominating the outlying states, particularly those of the north, where the radical-thought of Mexico flourished.

On the other hand, the President could refuse the recognition and support of the United States. He could take the position that the United States was unwilling to interfere in Mexican affairs in behalf of him who proclaimed: "I have overthrown the government." He was free, if he chose to do so, to await developments and to maintain an attitude of preparedness to serve the sister republic when opportunity should offer itself.

It was a clear choice between right and wrong, a clear opportunity to avoid unpardonable commitments. The President did not hesitate. Only eight days elapsed after his inauguration before he was ready to announce to the world the decision he had made.

"Cooperation is possible," said the President in a formal statement issued from the White House, "only when supported at every turn by the orderly processes of just government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular force. * * * We cannot have sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of the government to advance their own personal interests or ambitions. We are the friends of peace, but we know that there can be no lasting or stable peace in such circumstances. As friends, therefore, we shall prefer those who act in the interests of peace and honor, who protect private rights and respect the restraint of constitutional provisions."

It was the service of notice that the United States Government, under President Wilson's Administration, would not recognize Huerta or any other ruler in Latin-America whose

WE HAVE GONE DOWN TO MEXICO TO SERVE MANKIND IF WE CAN FIND THE WAY. WE DO NOT WANT TO FIGHT THE MEXICANS. WE WANT TO SERVE THE MEXICANS IF WE CAN, BECAUSE WE KNOW HOW WE WOULD LIKE TO BE FREE, AND HOW WE WOULD LIKE TO BE SERVED IF THERE WERE FRIENDS STANDING BY IN SUCH CASE READY TO SERVE US. A WAR OF AGGRESSION IS NOT A WAR IN WHICH IT IS A PROUD THING TO DIE, BUT A WAR OF SERVICE IS A THING IN WHICH IT IS A PROUD THING TO DIE.
(From President Wilson's address at the service in honor of the dead at Vera Cruz.)

accession to power was made possible through the treacherous murder of his constitutional predecessor.

ENTER CARRANZA.

In a little while the revolutionary movement was revived under the leadership of the Governor of Coahuila, Venustiano Carranza. From the first it prospered. The Mexican people were prepared to rally around any leader who raised revolt against Huerta, whom they called "the foreign-chosen traitor," and in whom they saw tyranny restored to power.

In May, 1913, President Wilson sent John Lind as his special representative to tender the good offices of the United States to Mexico. He felt that as the friend of Mexico, the United States ought not to hold back from offering its aid, and that our position as Mexico's nearest friend in the regard of the nations of the world made this duty incumbent upon us. Lind sought to persuade Huerta to agree to a free election, in which Carranza's followers and the Huertistas were to take part on a basis of equal suffrage; Huerta was to bind himself not to be a candidate. President Wilson pledged himself through Lind to recognize and to give all practicable assistance to the Administration to be constituted by the proposed election and to facilitate a settlement in every way honorable and consistent with international right.

Huerta insolently rejected these proposals, and the President, while deploring his attitude, felt that the United States was not called upon to do more at that time. He declared, in an address to Congress August 27, 1913, that but a little more time was needed in order that the situation might work itself out. Meanwhile, he thought it the duty of the United States to show "what true neutrality will do to enable the people of Mexico to set their affairs in order again."

The succeeding weeks established overwhelmingly that the dictator, proclaimed as the "iron-handed," was incapable of maintaining peace and order in Mexico and of fulfilling the international obligations of a government. None realized this better than Huerta himself. He was too wise to believe that he could continue to rule unless he had foreign support or unless some abnormal condition arose which might unite all Mexico behind him. With the support of the United States denied him, he set out to create the condition which he believed would make his control durable.

It was to stir the Mexican people by his insolence toward the United States and, if necessary, to provoke intervention.

DICTATOR'S REMOVAL ESSENTIAL.

Huerta's gradual weakening was reported to the Congress of the United States by President Wilson in his annual message, delivered December 2, 1913. In that message the President reiterated his belief that there could be no certain prospect of peace until the dictator had surrendered his usurped authority. The President's information regarding the condition of affairs in Mexico justified his assertion that Huerta had forfeited the respect and the moral support even of those who at one time had been willing to see him suc-

ceed. "Little by little he has been completely isolated," said the President. "By a little every day his power and prestige are crumbling, and the collapse is not far away. We shall not, I believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting, and then, when the end comes, we shall hope to see constitutional order restored in distressed Mexico by the concert and energy of such of her leaders as prefer the liberty of their people to their own ambitions."

Meanwhile, Huerta and his underlings omitted no opportunity to try the patience of the United States. A series of insulting incidents, which had included offenses against the sovereignty of the United States, culminated April 9, 1914, when a quartermaster and a boat's crew from the United States ship "Dolphin" were arrested at Tampico by officers of General Huerta's army and paraded through the streets of the Mexican city. Two of the men were taken into custody while aboard the "Dolphin's" boat, which had the flag of the United States at her bow and at her stern. The American sailors were released quickly, and the officers responsible for the arrest apologized. General Huerta himself later expressed regret.

The arrest was regarded by Admiral Mayo, in command of the American naval vessel at Tampico, as an affront to the flag, and the admiral demanded a full salute in atonement for it.

President Wilson informed the Congress on April 20 that he had upheld Admiral Mayo's demand, and had felt it his duty to insist "that the flag of the United States should be saluted in such a way as to indicate a new spirit and attitude on the part of the Huertistas."

The President was moved to this conclusion by a consideration of the other offensive acts of the Huertista officials. These had included the arrest and temporary imprisonment of a mail orderly from the battleship "Minnesota" at Vera Cruz, and the withholding of an official dispatch from the State Department to the American Embassy at Mexico City by the authorities of the Mexican telegraph service.

SEIZURE OF VERA CRUZ.

The President felt that these affronts had been perpetrated by Huerta's representatives in retaliation for the failure of the United States to recognize the Dictator. When Huerta ignored the American ultimatum demanding a salute to the flag, President Wilson ordered the seizure of the Port of Vera Cruz by the American naval forces then in Mexican water. The seizure occurred on April 21. It was accomplished after the death of 19 American sailors and marines, and approximately 100 Mexicans. The action was directed solely against Huerta and the forces he controlled. The President made it clear that the undertaking to which he applied the American forces was not war against Mexico, but a stroke against the individual and his followers who had perpetrated insults against the United States. Huerta's insolence had become intolerable. The President's forbearance and his kindly sympathy for the Mexican people could not

justify him longer in permitting a continuance of Huerta's insolence. It should be remembered that always in the President's mind there had been reservations as to the extent of the sacrifices which the United States Government could make in order to avoid armed clashes with one of the offending Mexican factions. The purpose behind the Vera Cruz expedition was much the same as that in the President's mind later when he ordered General Pershing to lead an expeditionary force into Northern Mexico to break up the Villista faction which was behind the Columbus raid. In both cases, the President felt himself eminently justified in utilizing the power of the United States in crushing the faction of Mexicans who were deliberately and with sinister designs engaged in the commission of intolerable wrongs against the United States.

The American forces were not sent into Vera Cruz to compel a salute to the American flag. When Huerta refused the President's ultimatum, he created a need that more complete reparation be given for his offenses. That was the sort of reparation which the President was intent upon procuring. In a word, it was to break the waning power of the Dictator and to bring his bloody reign to an end, since in no other way could normal international relations be restored. Estoppel of the delivery of a shipment of arms on board the German steamship "Yperanza," consigned to Huerta, which was due at Vera Cruz the morning of the seizure, was but an incidental consideration in the order for the capture of that port. The fact that arms later reached the Mexicans through another port is irrelevant to the weighing of the Vera Cruz incident, for it did not alter the certainty that the President's main purpose would be realized.

Although the American naval and military forces were prepared for it, the President did not order a campaign into the interior of Mexico. The seizure of the principal port in Huerta's possession, the President regarded as all that was needed at that time.

A. B. C. POWERS MEDIATE.

When the United States had been in comparatively peaceful possession of Vera Cruz nearly two weeks, the Governments of Argentina, Brazil and Chile applied a sudden, sharp test to the sincerity of the friendship which Mr. Wilson had been expressing for the sister republics of the Western Hemisphere. Possibly fearing that if the United States went further in its Mexican expedition, their own sovereignty might become involved, the Latin-Americans proposed to mediate the differences between the United States and Huerta. President Wilson recognized the vital importance of the mediation proposal to our relations with the Latin-American governments, and with a vision of the golden opportunity offered for winning the friendship and confidence of Latin-America, he accepted. His acceptance did more than anything that had occurred in many decades to convince the Latin-Americans that the United States had no designs upon their territories.

Huerta, in view of the desperate straits in which he found himself, also accepted the mediation, but while the A. B. C. Conference was being held at Niagara Falls, his power crumbled completely away. July 7, 1914, he fled from the capital and sailed into exile, followed by the opprobrium of all his patriotic countrymen.

Venustiano Carranza had been the civil leader of the revolutionary movement which had come into control of the government at Mexico City upon Huerta's withdrawal. His chief military commander was Francisco Villa, who had made a brilliant record as a strategist and a leader of the Constitutionalist soldiers. They were jealous of one another, and Villa's recalcitrance was intensified by his belief that Carranza intended to relegate him to a subordinate position not in keeping with his achievements as a leader of the victorious army. Weeks passed, however, without an actual break between the two, and with Huerta gone, the United States had no reason to retain possession of Vera Cruz. So, on November 23, 1914, the port was evacuated and turned over to the representatives of the new government at the Mexican capital.

The Constitutionalist movement did not fulfill the bright promises which it had held out for the future of Mexico. Dissension and discord broke out within its ranks. The jealousy and envy which Villa and Carranza entertained for one another came to a head in a convention at Aguascalientes which had been called to choose a provisional President, pending a general election. Defeated in this convention, Villa withdrew and went to Northern Mexico to organize the soldiers in that region who were loyal to him. Open warfare between the two divisions of the Constitutionlists followed, although Carranza remained in control of the capital and gradually gained other advantages over his opponent.

CARRANZA'S RECOGNITION.

For a year the Administration held aloof, playing no favorites in the matter of its control of shipments of arms into Mexico and hoping that the opposing factions would bring order out of chaos without any activities on the part of the United States. A year sufficed to disillusion the President and his advisers, however. Thereupon, the Administration consulted with the six ranking diplomatic representatives of the Latin-American countries as to the practicability of recognizing a government in Mexico. The Latin-American representatives and Secretary of State Lansing invited both Villa and Carranza to participate in a conference designed to adjust their differences. The manner in which this invitation was received decided the conferees of the United States and the Latin-American countries. Villa's followers accepted, apparently without reference to the wishes of one another or their chieftain. Carranza's followers deferred to his wishes in the matter and indicated that they represented a united front. To the United States and the six Catholic countries engaged in the peace conference the inference was plain that the side which gave evidence of such superior organization,

unity and harmony, held out the brightest promise for Mexico's salvation. As a result Carranza was recognized as head of the de facto government of Mexico by the United States and the countries with which we were advising.

Thereafter Carranza's campaign against Villa was more successful. Gradually Villa's forces disintegrated into independent bands and the territory he controlled diminished. He became little more than a leader of bandits who skulked in the mountains and in the thinly populated areas of Northern Mexico, where they were able to elude the forces of the de facto government.

Villa, hopeless of making headway against Carranza as things stood, adopted Huerta's policy of attempting to provoke American intervention. He hoped by arousing their national pride to rally to his standard many of Carranza's soldiers and to present himself to the ignorant Mexican people in the guise of their would-be savior from a foreign invader. The bandit leader went about his work with deadly earnestness. January 12, 1916, he caused the murder of seventeen American citizens near Piedras Negras, Mexico. March 9, he personally led a raiding band across the border and attacked the town of Columbus, New Mexico, which was guarded by a detachment of American cavalry.

The conscience of the American people demanded that the perpetrators of this outrage be given swift punishment. Villa's conspiracy to provoke intervention had fallen short of its goal, but he had brought about a situation wherein it was evident that the United States could not rely upon Carranza's soldiers, who were few in number along the international boundary, to suppress the brigands of Northern Mexico. The President dealt with this situation in the same firm manner in which he had dealt with Huerta's offences against American sovereignty. He ordered an adequate armed force, under General Pershing, to pursue Villa into Mexico and to crush or disperse his lawless bands. Pershing's instructions also were to get Villa, if possible, dead or alive.

PROMPT PUNISHMENT.

The Pershing column was ready in ten days. It had to be a complete little army, equipped for any sort of emergency, for the danger existed that once in Mexican soil our forces might, through misconception of its purpose, be attacked from other quarters than by the followers of Villa.

President Wilson took all available means to convince the Mexican people that the Pershing expedition was directed solely against the persons responsible for the Columbus raid, and by careful handling he reduced to a minimum the possibilities of a rupture with the Carranza government. Formal assurances were conveyed to Carranza that the sovereignty of Mexico was not to be trenched upon. So favorable was the impression made at Mexico City that the Chief of the de facto Government suggested the negotiation of a reciprocal agreement to provide for the pursuit of raiders across the border by either Government. In that tense period also the President reaped the harvest of the good seed which had

been sown throughout Latin-America by his policy of co-operation. Carranza was encouraged to defer his efforts to procure the withdrawal of the Pershing expedition by the attitude of the Latin-American Governments and by the official utterances with which the President and the State Department followed up their first assurances to the Mexican Government. The propriety of the American policy was emphatically set forth in a statement made public by Secretary of State Lansing, March 13, in which it was said that "what is now being done is deliberately intended to preclude the possibility of intervention."

Meanwhile, the soldiers under General Pershing engaged in a vigorous pursuit of Villa and his outlaws. Unassisted by the Carranza soldiers, the hard-riding American cavalry clashed frequently with bands of Villistas and drove them into the hills. Villa was wounded and sought refuge in some mountain retreat where he was enabled to avoid capture.

The pursuit had taken the American forces more than three hundred miles into Mexican territory. As time passed without the capture of Villa, the Mexican populace became more and more restless, and it became evident that they regarded the expedition as an affront to their national pride. Events gradually assumed a more ominous aspect. The increasing suspicions and complaints of the Mexican people brought such pressure to bear upon Carranza that it looked as if his control of the executive authority would be lost unless he took steps to bring about Pershing's withdrawal. Carranza himself was forced to assume an attitude which seemed to indicate a total lack of appreciation of the patience and forbearance which the American Government had displayed in the past. He opened a series of interchanges which began with inquiries as to how long the American troops were to stay in Mexico, and culminated in a demand for their withdrawal. An attempt was made in May to work out an agreement for the joint patrol of the border through a series of conferences between General Obregon and General Scott, the Chief of Staff of the United States Army. Carranza repudiated the arrangement which these officers had agreed upon and returned to his note writing. In April word was conveyed by General Trevino to the officers of the American forces that if they moved in any direction save toward the American border, their movement would be regarded as an unfriendly act. Pending some determinations of the questions which Carranza had raised, the American troops were warned to avoid clashes, if possible, and to keep in mind "the single purpose of the expedition." The President was wholly intent on avoiding any mischance which might subject the future of relations between Mexico and the United States to its full influence.

THE CARRIZAL EPISODE.

In March, a body of American troopers had clashed with the inflamed inhabitants of Parral. The tension produced by this incident and by the attitude of the Mexican Government was increased to the breaking point on June 21, when an

engagement occurred at Carrizal between a detachment of American cavalry, under Captain Boyd, and a considerable number of Carranzista soldiers. Captain Boyd was in pursuit of bandits. The engagement followed efforts by the Carranzista commander to prevail upon Boyd to turn back. The Mexican soldiers have steadily charged that Boyd provoked the fight through disobedience to his instructions. The American Government has never conceded the justification of this charge.

It looked like war for a while. Impassioned by the reports of the death of American troops at Carrizal, the American people were prepared to make short shrift of Carranza's explanations. To the public mind there appeared but one proper method of dealing with the situation; it was to hold the Mexican Government to strict account for the acts of its soldiers, if it assumed responsibility for these acts. It was the course the President decided upon.

Delaying only long enough to get official information as to what had occurred, the President sent an ultimatum to Carranza demanding the release of the American soldiers captured at Carrizal and the return of all their equipment and the property of the United States taken with them. At the same time, he ordered the National Guard to the Mexican border and prepared to enforce his demands, unless Carranza assented to them voluntarily.

The crisis was robbed of its acuteness by Carranza's yielding to the American ultimatum. He did release the prisoners and returned them to American territory, thus turning back the relations between his government and the United States to their former status.

The interventionists were not satisfied with what had been done. The old cry for a settlement of all our difficulties with Mexico upon a warlike basis was renewed. The surface aspects of the situation had been changed by the tension resulting from the Columbus and Carrizal incidents, but the President was capable of realizing that the fundamental issues were unchanged.

PRESSURE FOR WAR.

There was a powerful pressure for war—a terrible war—by a well-armed, powerful nation against an unarmed, bankrupt people, exhausted by five years of civil strife, but who still retained enough of patriotic feeling to unify them against an invader. It was the old, old question whether the United States should impose a peace on Mexico; whether, for the sake of the interests of a few of its citizens, it should permanently suppress Mexico's upreaching toward freedom and self-government. What killing irony it would have been, even in these trying circumstances, for this custodian of mankind's ideals—herself composite of all the peoples of the earth—to say to Mexico: "The germ of self-government in you is incapable of fructifying. Your revolutions lead only to new revolutions, and not freedom and peace as did the revolutions of France. You must submit to a dictator; you

must be governed by an iron hand, and the United States will see to it that you are."

President Wilson and the Democratic Administration, contemplating this prospect, said: "No. There will be no glory in such a war." The President thought of war in Europe, of the clear prospect for a pan-American understanding with all our neighbors, the Latin-Americas, and of its message of peace to Europe through agreement not to intervene in and exploit the little nations of the world. The President defied those who were pressing him to intervene in an epoch-making speech, delivered at New York in June. In that speech, the President told of the prayers that were being conveyed to him from unknown men and humble women: "Mr. President, do not allow anybody to persuade you that the people of this country want war with anybody." And he declared himself the spokesman of such people. Then he epitomized his defiance of those who were threatening to make political misfortune the price of his failure to bring on a war in his declaration that, regardless of the imminence of the Presidential election, he was resolved to play only for the verdict of mankind.

CAUSED CHANGE OF ATTITUDE.

Mr. Wilson's speech was immediately registered in a changed attitude on the part of the Government at Mexico City. It paved the way for negotiations for a settlement of all existing differences by a joint commission to be composed of three Americans and three Mexicans, to whom might be referred the problem of protecting our border first, and second, of clearing up and clearing away all the causes of misunderstanding between the United States and Mexico, to the end that has been the President's aim, always, everywhere—Peace.

Thus the story of the Wilson Mexican policy closes as it began, a story of peace—Peace. War, if necessary, but not for mere misunderstandings; not for lack of patience, and certainly not for exploitation.

WHAT IS TRUE VALOR?

I WOULD BE JUST AS MUCH ASHAMED TO BE RASH AS I WOULD TO BE A COWARD. VALOR IS SELF-RESPECTING. VALOR IS CIRCUMSPECT. VALOR STRIKES ONLY WHEN IT IS RIGHT TO STRIKE. VALOR WITHHOLDS ITSELF FROM ALL SMALL IMPLICATIONS AND ENTANGLEMENTS AND WAITS FOR THE GREAT OPPORTUNITY WHEN THE SWORD WILL FLASH AS IF IT CARRIED THE LIGHT OF HEAVEN UPON ITS BLADE.—From President Wilson's Address at Gridiron Club Dinner, February 26, 1916.

OUR MEXICAN POLICY AND THE FATE OF NATIONS

Are the People of the Earth to be Sacrificed to the Riches Thereof?

By Lincoln Steffens

The Mexican Question, as a narrow, political issue in the United States, is an heritage direct from the Republican administration of President Taft. All through Mr. Taft's term the revolution burned down there; Mr. Taft's ambassador took an undiplomatic, partisan part in it. Our relations with Mexico were in a mess when President Wilson was elected, and President Taft, wisely and not improperly, left to his Democratic successor the present Republican question:

What is the United States to do about Mexico?

Back of this question lies a still broader question which is an inheritance from all the other American administrations, both Republican and Democratic, since the days of Washington, Monroe, Polk and Grant:

What is the United States to do about all the other nations of the world?

All that the Democratic Administration of President Wilson has done is to take this question, restate it and make of it a world issue. That's all. The world question Woodrow Wilson is putting into international politics is:

What are all the great nations to do about the small nations of the world?

One of the causes of the European war is the rivalry of the great powers to intervene in the affairs of the weaker nations, and, on the pretext of "protecting" and "developing" them, to conquer, control and exploit the poor people and the rich resources of the so-called backward countries.

What are we, the powerful peoples of the earth, to do about the weaker peoples?

The world question which Wilson, the Democrat, is raising by his Mexican policy and his peace plan, is the question of democracy: home rule for Mexico and self-government the world over. And the opposition, consciously or unconsciously, is for exploitation; benevolent, but—abroad as well as at home—fatal. So it is a world issue, big, hard to solve, but vital. In involves, literally, the fate of nations.

Are the people of the earth to be sacrificed to the riches thereof?

I have long enjoyed the friendship and companionship of Republicans, because I am by instinct a teacher and I would like to teach them something.—Woodrow Wilson.

MILITIA'S MISSION ON MEXICAN BORDER

What Mrs. Henry Smith Owes to the Statesmanship of Woodrow Wilson

Replying to a complaint from Mrs. Henry Smith, of Winamac, Ind., who has a son in the National Guard, President Wilson wrote July 26 last as follows:

My Dear Madam: Your letter of July 23 distresses me a good deal, because it shows that you have not been correctly informed as to the purpose of having the National Guard at the border.

It is not for the purpose of drill, but for the purpose of protecting the country. The service the men are performing there is an honor to them and a necessity to the United States. I cannot believe that the men in the National Guard would wish to be excused from it or would lose heart because of the discomfort and inconvenience of the service.

The War Department has the camps on the border under the most careful instruction, and is using every means known to make them sanitary and safe against disease. The health record of the men on the border, both regulars and the National Guard men, is exceptionally good.

I would not have you think that I do not sympathize with you in the absence of your son, but I beg that you will take these large matters into consideration.

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

"The hardships to which the National Guard is subjected on the Texas frontier are about equal to the hardships of an ordinarily strenuous vacation in the Maine or the Minnesota woods; but war is serious business. When Mrs. Henry Smith thinks about the petty inconveniences to which her son is subjected, let her think also of the millions of boys in Europe who are in the trenches and who are dying daily by the thousand in the midst of the most ghastly warfare known to human history.

"Let her think of the boys lying on the field with arms blown off, or legs blown off, or faces blown off, perishing in horrible agony for the lack of medical assistance which cannot reach them.

"Let her think of the millions of boys in Europe who after

this war is over will be crippled for life or with health shattered domed to eke out a wretched existence as hopeless invalids.

"Let her think of the millions of mothers who are not worrying because their boys have to eat army rations, but who are worried day and night lest they will never see their boys again alive.

"Let her try to visualize the hourly terrors of a war in which 8,000,000 or 10,000,000 men have already been killed or wounded—most of them boys like her boy.

"THEN LET HER REMEMBER THAT EXCEPT FOR THE STATESMANSHIP OF WOODROW WILSON THE BODY OF HER OWN SON MIGHT BE LYING TO-DAY IN AN UNMARKED GRAVE IN FLANDERS OR FRANCE."—From the New York World.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE FOR MR. HUGHES

(From the Springfield Republican, Ind.)

As an example of "shameful" and "ignoble" avoidance of the duty of a President of the United States to protect American Citizens from murderous attacks by foreigners, the following extraordinary passage in an official message from the President to the Governor of Arizona should prove exceedingly effective in the hands of Mr. Hughes while he is on the stump:

The pressure for general intervention under such conditions it might not be practicable to resist. It is impossible to foresee or reckon the consequences of such a course and we must use the greatest self-restraint to avoid it. * * * Cannot, therefore, order the troops at Douglas to cross the border, but I must ask you and the local authorities, in case the same danger recurs, to direct the people of Douglas to place themselves where bullets cannot reach them and thus avoid casualty.

The President of the United States, in that message, was not confronted with the question of protecting the lives of American citizens in Mexico; the only question was the protection of the lives of American citizens from Mexican bullets in the United States. Instead of removing the cause of the killing of our citizens in their own country, the President directed that American citizens resident in Douglas, Ariz., should hide in their cellars when Mexican bullets were flying about! How can Mr. Hughes contemplate such a performance except with the "deepest shame"?

Yet that was the performance not of Woodrow Wilson but of the last Republican President, William H. Taft, on April 18, 1911.

REFUSAL TO COMPOUND A FELONY.

(Christian Science Monitor, May 8, 1916.)

* * * There are some who insist upon continuing to regret that President Wilson did not recognize Huerta. Possibly by doing so he might have assisted very materially in the earlier re-establishment of peace south of the Rio Grande. But in countenancing Huerta's dictatorship he would have been compelled to compound a felony and condone a heinous crime.

WILSON MEXICO POLICY SUPPORTED BY FAIRBANKS

Republican Candidate for Vice-President Said in 1913, "It's a Safe Rule to Follow Where the President Leads"

THAT Charles W. Fairbanks, Vice-Presidential candidate on the Republican ticket, fully approved the Mexican policy of President Wilson, was a fact laid before the Senate on August 21, 1913, by Mr. Kern of Indiana, who placed in the Congressional Record the views expressed by Mr. Fairbanks.

In calling attention to the attitude of Mr. Fairbanks, as he had outlined it in a speech delivered just before that date, Senator Kern said, as printed in the Congressional Record:

"Mr. President, a few days ago an address was delivered before the Republican Editorial Association of Indiana by the Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks, formerly Vice-President of the United States—a man who was presiding officer of this body; a man with the respect and the confidence of all its members; a man who, while a pronounced partisan, is recognized as being a careful student of public affairs, possessing enlightened views on public questions. * * * He says:

EXPLOITERS WANTED INTERVENTION.

I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE DISTURBANCES IN MEXICO DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS HAVE BEEN DUE, IN A GREATER OR LESS DEGREE, TO AN EFFORT ON THE PART OF AMBITIOUS, CUNNING MEN TO FORCE INTERVENTION AND POSSIBLY ANNEXATION TO THE UNITED STATES.

THE EXPLOITERS OF PUBLIC UTILITIES AND OF THE MINERAL AND AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES OF OUR NEIGHBOR HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY THOUGHT THAT THEY WOULD GAIN MUCH IF THEY COULD FORCE INTERVENTION BY THE UNITED STATES. THERE ARE SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE IN MEXICO WHO WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY WELCOME SUCH A CONTINGENCY.

SENSATIONALISTS ARE ADDING TO THE CONFUSION OF THE SITUATION AND MAKING MORE DIFFICULT THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM. INTERVENTION IN MEXICO IS, OF COURSE, NOT A MATTER TO BE CONSIDERED LIGHTLY; FOR INTERVENTION MEANS WAR, AND WAR MEANS THE DESTRUCTION OF HUMAN LIVES AND THE EXPENDITURE OF HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

UPHOLD WILSON'S HANDS.

IT MEANS, FURTHERMORE, THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF 20,000,000 PEOPLE FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD. WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN GOVERNING 10,000,000 ALIENS AS THE RESULT OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR—A WAR WHICH COULD VERY PROBABLY HAVE BEEN AVERTED IF WE COULD HAVE EXERCISED A LITTLE MORE PATIENCE, PATRIOTISM, AND SELF-RESTRAINT.

IF OUR SPECULATORS IN MEXICO SUFFER PECUNIARY LOSS AS THE RESULT OF RECURRING REVOLUTIONS, THAT IS A MATTER FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION, WHEN STABLE GOVERNMENT AND PEACE ARE FULLY ESTABLISHED IN THAT COUNTRY. IT IS NOT WARRANT FOR SHEDDING THE BLOOD OF AMERICANS. TO SACRIFICE THE LIFE OF ONE SOLDIER FOR ALL OF THE DOLLARS INVESTORS OR SPECULATORS HAVE VENTURED IN MEXICO WOULD BE THE SUPREMEST CRIMINAL FOLLY, WITHOUT A DELIBERATE AFFRONT ON THE PART OF THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT, WHETHER IT EXISTS DE JURE OR DE FACTO, IS NO GOOD GROUND ON WHICH WE WOULD BE JUSTIFIED IN SENDING OUR ARMIES BEYOND THE RIO GRANDE * * *.

PRESIDENT WILSON IS DEALING WITH IT (THE SITUATION) AS BEST HE CAN. WE MAY NOT ENTIRELY AGREE THAT HIS COURSE IS BETTER THAN THAT OF HIS DISTINGUISHED PREDECESSOR, NEVERTHELESS WE SHOULD ENDEAVOR TO UPHOLD HIS HANDS. THERE SHOULD BE NO DIFFERENCE OF OPINION AS TO THAT. BY DOING SO WE SHALL MAKE HIS TASK A COMPARATIVELY EASY ONE.

PRESIDENT A SAFE GUIDE.

IT IS NOT AN HOUR FOR EITHER LITTLE POLITICS OR SENSATIONAL JOURNALISM. THE CLAMOR OF THE JINGOES SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO DROWN THE VOICE OF RATIONAL, DELIBERATE STATESMANSHIP. IT IS A PRETTY SAFE RULE, WHEN WE COME TO DEAL WITH GRAVE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS, TO PUT OUR FAITH IN THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND FOLLOW WHERE HE MAY LEAD. HE SPEAKS FOR THE COUNTRY WHEN WE COME TO DEAL WITH INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS A SAFER GUIDE THAN SENSATIONALISTS AND THE SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE WHO COME TO THE SURFACE WHENEVER INTERNATIONAL CONTROVERSIES ARISE.

WILSON REPUDIATES DISLOYAL AMERICANS

Sharp Contrast Between Presidential Candidates and Between Demo- cratic and Republican Parties on Patriotic Issue

THE issue of Americanism now confronting the American electorate calls for a vote of approval of President Wilson's course in enforcing the neutrality laws fairly against all belligerents and in upholding vital American rights of life and property. Conversely, a repudiation is demanded of disloyal endeavors to prevent the observance of honest neutrality and to estop the President from enforcing recognition of American Rights.

It involves choice between absolute silence in the Republican national platform and the forthright denunciation of disloyal acts and groups of citizens by the Democratic national platform; and between President Wilson's specific denunciations of alien and un-American activities within the United States and Mr. Hughes's generalities on the subject. It is a question of whether America shall come first.

The issue is contained in the following sets of facts which classify roughly into these groups:

1. The platform declarations and the respective utterances of President Wilson and Mr. Hughes.

2. The evidence of the disloyal support of Mr. Hughes for the Republican nomination and of united advocacy by the disloyal element of Hughes's election as a means of wreaking vengeance upon President Wilson because of his insistence upon honest neutrality and his firm maintenance of American rights.

3. The record showing strong Republican backing in Congress of the efforts of disloyal organizations and propagandists to prevent President Wilson in the submarine negotiations from placing the power of America behind his protests against German violation of American rights and international law. This came to a head in the votes upon the Gore and McLemore Resolutions.

Other interferences in vital governmental and political affairs within this country are involved. Plots and conspiracies which have caused loss of American life and property have been laid bare and the plotters and conspirators indicted and prosecuted.

Official representatives of the German Government within the United States were involved in these plots and conspiracies and President Wilson demanded of Germany and secured the recall from the United States of Capt. Franz von Papen and Capt. Boy-Ed, military and naval attaches respectively of the German Embassy at Washington.

A TAINTED CANDIDACY

THE UNITED effort of the disloyalists is to defeat President Wilson.

Because the President firmly insisted on Germany's respecting the rights of the United States and because he pursued relentlessly the lawless methods employed by conspirators in this country, these disloyal citizens seek to punish the President.

A candidate who is willing to accept such support is tainted with the same un-American spirit. He is a tool in the hands of disloyalty, an instrument of those whose only purpose is to destroy politically a fearless patriotic executive who has dared to oppose disloyalty, to bring to justice violators of our laws, to make known to the people of the United States the plots which have been hatched in this country.

Can political ambition accept disloyal support and remain patriotic? Will the American people permit their votes to be used to punish a President because he has been a patriotic American, because he has refused to swerve from the path of duty to curry favor with disloyal Americans, because he will not be coerced by the threats and opposition of those who are conspiring in the interest of a foreign power?

It cannot be that the American people will be so deceived or so reward faithful service and firm defense of American rights.

The organized effort to bring about surrender of the acknowledged right of American citizens to sell munitions and supplies of war to any and all belligerents—a surrender which if made would violate neutrality and jeopardize national safety—has been opposed.

Whether the Administration's course in these latter matters shall be sustained also is part of the issue.

The vigorous plank of the Democratic platform and the blank which stares out from the Republican platform appear upon the inside of the Text Book's cover.

President Wilson's firm position upon the duty of undivided allegiance on the part of all American citizens was merely intensified by the events of the European war. Before

the war he had many times emphasized the necessity of a thorough Americanism. The following presents in chronological order the principal utterances of President Wilson and Mr. Hughes, beginning with two extracts from speeches delivered by the President before the European war began:

WILSON'S RINGING AMERICANISM.

May 11, 1914.

I listened again to this list of the dead with a profound interest because of the mixture of the names, for the names bear the marks of the several national stocks from which these men came. But they are not Irishmen or Germans or Frenchmen or Hebrews or Italians any more. They were not when they went to Vera Cruz; they were Americans, every one of them, and with no difference in their Americanism because of the stock from which they came. They were in a peculiar sense of our blood, and they proved it by showing that they were of our spirit—that no matter what their derivation, no matter where their people came from, they thought and wished and did the things that were American; and the flag under which they served was a flag in which all the blood of mankind is united to make a free nation.

(President Wilson's address at the Brooklyn Navy Yard at the service in memory of those who lost their lives at Vera Cruz, Mexico.)

May 16, 1914.

This man (John Barry) was not an Irish-American; he was an Irishman who became an American. I venture to say if he voted he voted with regard to the questions as they looked on this side of the water and not as they affected the other side; and that is my infallible test of a genuine American: that when he votes or when he acts or when he fights, his heart and his thought are centered nowhere but in the emotions and the purposes and the policies of the United States.

(President Wilson's address at the unveiling of the statue to the memory of Commodore John Barry at Washington, May 16, 1914.)

October 11, 1915.

There have been some among us who have not thought first of America, who have thought to use the might of America in some matter not of America's origination. They have forgotten that the first duty of a nation is to express its own individual principles in the action of the family of nations and not to seek to aid and abet any rival or contrary ideal. * * * I am not deceived as to the balance of opinion among the foreign-born citizens of the United States, but I am in a hurry for an opportunity to have a line-up and let the men who are thinking first of other countries stand on one side and all those that are

for America first, last, and all the time on the other side.

(President Wilson's address to the D. A. R., at Washington.)

Nov. 4, 1915.

The only thing within our own borders that has given us grave concern in recent months has been that voices have been raised in America professing to be the voices of Americans which were not indeed and in truth American, but which spoke alien sympathies, which came from men who loved other countries better than they loved America, men who were partisans of other causes than that of America and had forgotten that their chief and only allegiance was to the great government under which they live.

(President Wilson's address to Manhattan Club. N. Y.)

Dec. 7, 1916.

I am sorry to say that the gravest threats against our national peace and safety have been uttered within our own borders. There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life; who have sought to bring the authority and good name of our Government into contempt, to destroy our industries wherever they thought it effective for their vindictive purposes to strike at them, and to debase our politics to the uses of foreign intrigue.

(President Wilson's address to Congress.)

May 30, 1916.

We have no criticism for men who love the places of their birth and the sources of their origin. We do not wish men to forget their mothers and their fathers, their forbears running back through long, laborious generations, who have taken part in the building up of the strength and spirit of other nations. No man quarrels with that. From such springs of sentiment we all draw some of the handsomest inspirations of our lives. But all that we do criticize is that in some instances—they are not very numerous—men have allowed their old ardor of another nationality to overthrow their ardor for the nationality to which they have given their new and voluntary allegiance.

(President Wilson's address at Arlington.)

June 14, 1916.

I believe that the vast majority of those men whose lineage is directly derived from the nations now at war are just as loyal to the flag of the United States as any native citizen of this beloved land, but there are some men of that extraction who are not, and they, not only in past months, but at the present time, are doing their best to undermine the influence of the Government of

the United States in the interest of matters which are foreign to us and which are not derived from the questions of our own policies. **THERE IS DISLOYALTY ACTIVE IN THE UNITED STATES, AND IT MUST BE ABSOLUTELY CRUSHED.**

(President Wilson's address at Flag Dag Exercises, Washington.)

THE HUGHES GENERALITIES.

June 10, 1916.

I stand for an Americanism that knows no ulterior purpose; for a patriotism that is single and complete. Whether native or naturalized, of whatever race or creed, we have but one country, and we do not for an instant tolerate any division of allegiance.

(Hughes' Telegram of Acceptance.)

June 13, 1916.

I stated my position very clearly in my telegram to the convention. My attitude is one of undiluted Americanism, and anybody that supports me is supporting an out-and-out American and an out-and-out American policy, absolutely nothing else.

July 4, 1916.

We want patriotism, and I don't think that we are going to lose it very soon, although I devoutly hope that out of the perils and difficulties of this time may come a new birth of the sentiment of unity.

July 31, 1916.

We countenance no covert policies, no intrigues, no secret schemes. We are unreservedly, devotedly, wholeheartedly, for the United States. * * *

We denounce all plots and conspiracies in the interest of any foreign nation. Utterly intolerable is the use of our soil for alien intrigues. Every American must unreservedly condemn them and support every effort for their suppression.

HITS DISLOYAL CITIZENS ONLY

(From Milwaukee Journal, Ind.)

"THE plank on Americanism in the Democratic national convention does not strike, as it should not strike, at any citizen of the United States who, no matter where his sympathies may lie with regard to the nations now at war, has been loyal and faithful to this, his country.

"The Democratic plank does strike, as it should strike, at every citizen who has forgotten America and abused his rights and powers of citizenship to the extent of seeking to serve any foreign nation, to the injury of this, his country."

Hughes' Vagueness

Mr. Hughes' assertion in his telegram of acceptance, June 10, that "we do not for an instant tolerate any division of allegiance," and of June 13 asserting his "undiluted" and "out-and-out" Americanism, were not accepted as adequate by the patriotic press of the country, regardless of party. They did not apply to outright disloyalty and those guilty of it. Of the statement of June 13, which represented the Republican candidate's concession to a demand for a vigorous declaration on the subject of disloyalty and its support of him, the New York Tribune, a staunch Republican organ, said on June 14th that the "trouble with such a statement as Mr. Hughes made yesterday pledging himself to 'out-and-out' Americanism lies in the fact that it is precisely the sort of statement "that has been coming from disloyal sources from the very beginning of the European War; and that the disloyalists" who cheered the sinking of the Lusitania with equal eagerness proclaimed themselves loyal Americans and denounced the lack of patriotism of the women and children who got in the way of the German submarine."

This Tribune editorial continued:

"Many, many months ago this newspaper said: 'It would be better for the Republican Party to endorse Woodrow Wilson in 1916 than to permit the principle to be established that to defend American interests is to commit political suicide.'

"The Tribune meant that on July 14, 1915, and it means it on July 16, 1916."

Hughes' utterances to this writing, including his speech of acceptance, July 31, have not altered, but rather have weakened, the attitude of "out-and-out" Americans towards him. Of Americanism paragraphs in the speech of acceptance the New York Tribune said that "the difficulty with Mr. Hughes's comment lies in the fact that it supplies **just exactly that degree of vagueness**" which will enable disloyalists to indorse it and continue in their campaign directed against Mr. Wilson.

The process of selecting the presidential nominees of the great American political parties is, perhaps above all others, solely the business of loyal Americans. That disloyal Americans were endeavoring to interfere with the discharge of this American duty by the Republican convention at Chicago was stated in sensational terms by Colonel Roosevelt in his telegram to former Senator W. P. Jackson, June 8 last, in response to the latter's invitation asking the Colonel to come to Chicago and address the convention.

A "Foreign Viceroy"

"The professional German-Americans," Roosevelt said, "are seeking to terrorize your convention, for they wish to elect next November a man who shall not be in good

faith an American President, but the viceroy of a foreign government. It is for your convention in emphatic fashion to repudiate them."

That Roosevelt referred to Hughes as becoming a possible viceroy of a foreign government was understood and universally conceded. The convention neither in its platform nor in its choice of a presidential candidate—inasmuch as Hughes had recorded no utterance on the loyalty question at that time—repudiated the "professional German-Americans."

Republican newspapers, placing patriotism above partisanship, testified to the substantial truth of Colonel Roosevelt's statement. The New York Tribune, eight days before Hughes was nominated, said editorially:

"But the (disloyal) German-Americans have adopted him (Hughes) as their candidate. They have served notice on the Republican party that it must not nominate Elihu Root or Theodore Roosevelt because both are, by reason of their public expressions, unsatisfactory to the (disloyal) German-Americans and they have proclaimed that Mr. Hughes is their favorite."

On June 6, two days later, the same newspaper said: "No (disloyal) German-American has made the smallest concealment of the purpose to use Mr. Hughes to enforce German wishes at Washington."

Worked Openly for Hughes

The facts were that agents of the German-American Alliance and other such organizations worked night and day in Chicago for Hughes, promising German support if he were nominated. What occurred after the nomination is in line with what preceded it. THE NEW YORK WORLD (IND. DEM.) defined the issue thus:

"The followers of the Kaiser in the United States have set out to destroy President Wilson politically for the crime of being an American President instead of a German President. They have adopted Mr. Hughes as their candidate and made his cause their cause. They have decreed that President Wilson must be defeated because the foreign policies of his administration are not satisfactory to the German Empire."

The leaders of the pro-German alien activities and propaganda and of the pro-German anti-American press in this country chorused their indorsement of Hughes promptly and loudly. ALPHONSE G. KOELBLE, of the German-American Alliance, and a chief lobbyist at Washington in behalf of the Gore and McLemore resolution, said, June 11th:

"It is deeply gratifying not to find in either the Progressive or the Republican platforms any reference to the so-called hyphen issue, which was so unfortunately dragged in during the war by both President Wilson and ex-President Roosevelt and lesser lights like Root, Joseph Choate and others. These platforms are a virtual repudiation of these men. * * * If the Democratic party injects the hyphen issue into the platform the fate

of the Democratic candidates is sealed and the Democratic party will be overwhelmingly defeated next fall.

* * * I am certain that Justice Hughes will grow as the campaign advances, and the chances of Mr. Wilson being elected are now exceedingly slim."

The Democratic Convention with Woodrow Wilson's full approval met this challenge. As has been pointed out, the strong Democratic utterance and the Republican complete silence on this matter is one of the great outstanding facts of the campaign.

Disloyalist Chorus for Hughes

Officials of the German-American Alliance endorsed the Hughes nomination almost before the convention had finished its work. GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK, editor of the *Fatherland*, a frankly disloyal publication, declared: "The nomination of Justice Hughes means the salvation of the Republican party. It is a triumph of genuine Americanism over nativism."

GEORGE VON SKAL, one of the most active agents of the German propaganda in New York, was as enthusiastic as Mr. Viereck. Von Skal said: "We are convinced that President Wilson is pro-British, and that is the reason we are going to vote against him. Justice Hughes, therefore, will have the support of the German-American Democrats and Republicans, and I think he will be elected."

GUSTAV MAYER, publisher of the *German Daily Gazette*, said in a speech at Philadelphia June 11, the day following Hughes's nomination: "We suggested some weeks ago that Hughes was the most logical man, and with his selection and that of Fairbanks the entire country will rally to the support of the Republican ticket."

The editor of the *CINCINNATI VOLKSBLATT* said: "The nomination is a splendid one"; and the *Cleveland Wachter und Anzeiger* commended Mr. Hughes while attacking President Wilson and Col. Roosevelt: "We consider it a great boon of the Chicago convention that the people of the United States will not be compelled to choose between the present leader in unneutral subservience to England and the advocate of still greater unneutrality."

In the opinion of the *CINCINNATI FREI PRESSE*: "Justice Hughes has expressed sentiments which are in accord with the German-American idea of neutrality. We are in thorough sympathy with him and his ideals."

According to the *ST. LOUIS WESTLICHE POST*: "The Republican party faced a gigantic problem and found a glorious solution."

In a long editorial the *NEW YORKER HEROLD* cautioned the Germans "not to overdo our business." After declaring that "the overwhelming mass of the German-Americans in the country will fall into line for the election of Charles E. Hughes," it gives this advice to the German voters: "We Germans will beware of all mistakes in the campaign. Also not to overdo our business. As far as we can see, there is no necessity for German-Americans to work

openly in the campaign. We also believe that neither for the campaign nor for the German-American Alliance is it of advantage if they and their branch associations take any kind of position in the campaign. The present election is not one in which the German-Americans can participate as Republicans or Democrats, but that does not include forming a political party. Such would, aside from other severe thoughts, become rather an element of weakness than of power for German-Americanism."

Issue Up to Voters

Confronted with these facts the NEW YORK WORLD said :

"If Mr. Hughes should be elected President his success would inevitably be regarded throughout the world as a tremendous victory for Germany in the United States. It would be a notice to all civilization that the German vote, and through the German vote the German Government, holds the balance of power in American politics. It would proclaim to the nations that no President of the United States could hereafter hope for re-election unless his foreign policy was satisfactory to Berlin and the Kaiser. It would make Potsdam the political capital of the United States, and in its moral effect upon Germany it would be more potent than a great victory of the German armies in the field.

"That is the situation that the American people face. Must their President, in the words of Colonel Roosevelt, be 'the viceroy of a foreign Government' in order to be re-elected? Can a President of the United States be defeated by the Kaiser? Willingly or unwillingly, every American Voter, be he Democrat or Republican, must vote on that issue when he goes to the polls in November."

Later, a cable from Amsterdam said: "The German Press is well satisfied with the selection of Charles E. Hughes as Republican candidate. The press emphasizes the fact that Hughes must have the German-American votes to defeat President Wilson and states that they will not fail to assist if the Republican candidate gives a guarantee of strict neutrality."

AN ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH from Chicago June 13, follows:

"Chicago, June 13.—The Teutonic Sons of America, through the national council of the organization, to-day announced the adoption, at a meeting here, of resolutions

felicitating Charles E. Hughes and Charles W. Fairbanks upon their nomination. The resolutions also call upon "all American citizens of Teutonic extraction or sympathy to give their voice and support to the cause of securing the election of Charles E. Hughes to the presidency and Charles W. Fairbanks to the vice-presidency of the United States."

"It is known, and indeed admitted, that certain German-Americans did everything in their power to influence the action of the recent Chicago Convention," said the Indianapolis News (Ind.), June 15, editorially. "Many of them, and certain of their societies have been most hearty of their endorsement of the ticket of that convention."

Situation Has Not Changed

That was the situation during and after the nomination of Hughes. So it remains. The Republican campaign managers count the German-American Alliance and kindred organizations as their sole hope of electing Hughes.

Addresses delivered by Mr. Hughes during his swing through the West have not altered the case as to disloyalty in the least. A symposium of clippings just as inclusive and just as convincing could be inserted here showing delighted approval of Mr. Hughes's speech of acceptance and subsequent utterances. The disloyalists supported Hughes for the nomination, have supported him since and are supporting him now.

The Challenge to Congress

Agents of disloyal organizations, working in behalf of foreign interest and endeavoring to tie President Wilson's hands in his fight to maintain American rights on the seas, were active in Washington before and during the test in Congress on the Gore and McLemore Resolutions.

The question of whether the President in his conduct of American foreign affairs had united American backing became vital late in February when the German Government announced its determination to renew submarine attacks without warning upon merchantmen of the Allied Powers armed for defense. The right to arm for defense when attacked was conceded in international law and hence it was the lawful right of Americans to travel on such ships. To forbid them to go on vessels of the kind would have been to deny them the exercise of their right and to surrender their right.

It was an issue of whether Germany or any Power could

In the dealings of nations with one another arbitrary force must be rejected and we must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere.—Woodrow Wilson.

arbitrarily renounce a law of nations and adopt a policy which inevitably would lead to the loss of American lives. That President Wilson would protest against this German change of front in the submarine matter was generally known. It became clear that the action of the German Government in adhering to its renewed purpose of torpedoing merchant passenger ships without warning would depend in a great extent upon whether President Wilson's protest was supported by Congress and the American people. Hence the President demanded and secured a showdown in Congress.

The results shed illuminative light upon the question whether, now, President Wilson and Democracy or Mr. Hughes and the Republican party best stand for a loyal, courageous and honest Americanism.

Republicans Sustain President

As to the correctness of the President's stand, there is ample testimony out of the mouths of the most conspicuous Republicans in public life. In a prepared speech delivered in the Senate March 7th, Senator Sutherland of Utah, Republican, said:

"If, therefore, a citizen take passage upon a ship so armed and lose his life by the sinking of the ship without warning, what must be the contention and claim of this Government? To my mind, clearly this: That the citizen in the exercise of a clear right has been deprived of his life by the deliberately illegal act of the belligerent Government which sent the submarine on its mission of death. Others are welcome to their own opinions, but I can conceive of no other position for this Government to assume; and unless it is willing to forfeit the respect of mankind by becoming a craven thing, it must be prepared to sustain that position at whatever cost or consequence."

Reviewing the history which has established in international law the right of merchantmen to arm for defense, Senator Lodge said in the Senate, February 18:

"Such has been the practice of our own Government down to less than a year ago. It seems utterly incredible that this position should be in any way altered now or that our Government should be ready to surrender the unquestioned rights of Americans to travel or ship goods on a belligerent merchantman subject to all the rules which have been established by the Courts and by all international authorities for at least two centuries. The just rights of the citizens of any nation cannot be maintained by their surrender."

"The abandonment of those rights by any neutral Government on the ground that the invention of submarines

with the necessary limitations upon the powers of capture possessed by those boats is inconceivable. Such abandonment could only rest on the ground that the rights of neutrals, the rules which for centuries have been agreed upon by all nations for the protection of innocent lives upon vessels captured in war, must be thrown aside and discarded in order that a new instrument of maritime destruction shall not be impeded in its work of death and murder. Such a doctrine is revolting to every instinct of humanity, to every principle of law and justice."

Other Republican Senators at various times made speeches in Congress expressing the same view in similar terms.

Wilson's Sweeping Victory

When the President forced this issue to a vote on the Gore Resolution in the Senate, March 3d, 19 Republican Senators voted to sustain the President in maintaining, at all costs, the rights of American citizens to travel on merchantmen armed for defense, and 12 Republican Senators voted against tabling the Gore Resolution, and for surrender of American rights.

Nine Republican Senators did not vote.

Granting that Mr. Hughes's declarations upon undivided Americanism are adequate, which even Republican newspapers have refused to admit, the reason why disloyalists in the United States favor change to Republican national administration are again made clear by this vote. They have secured support in the Republican Party and have been defeated in all their undertakings during the Wilson Administration.

Four days later 101 Republicans in the House voted to surrender the essential American rights contained in the armed merchantman fight. It is true that 87 Republican members ballotted to sustain the President and Americanism, but 101, including Republican Leader Mann, voted for an American backdown in this controversy with Germany—that is, they voted against tabling the McLemore resolution warning Americans not to take passage on merchant ships armed for defense.

NO TIME FOR EXCUSE OR PRETENSE.

The American people are going to insist upon it before this year is over that everybody comes up and is counted on the great questions of the day. They are not going to take any excuses, they are not going to take any pretenses; they are going to insist upon the goods being delivered on the spot, and anybody that declines to deliver them is going to go bankrupt, and ought to go bankrupt. Everybody ought to get what is coming to him.—President Wilson's Address before Motion Picture Board of Trade, New York, January 27, 1916.

FINANCED TELEGRAPHIC LOBBYING.

At the time of the test on the Gore and McLemore Resolutions, and before and afterwards when questions involving other phases of foreign policy were pending, scarcely a Congressman or Senator failed to receive hundreds and even thousands of telegrams so phrased as to indicate a common source. The evidence of an organized effort to promote foreign interests by conducting a propaganda on an enormous scale was conclusive. This situation provoked an exposure by Senator Husting, of Wisconsin, April 27th, in the Senate. It had to do with the so-called "American Embargo Conference," which sought to place an embargo upon the exportation of war munitions and war supplies from the United States. Senator Husting showed that, first, this American Embargo Conference had conducted a campaign for support of an embargo upon further shipments of arms and munitions to Europe and that later, April 24th and 25th, after President Wilson's ultimatum in the Sussex case was dispatched to Germany, had engaged in a wholesale enterprise to flood Congressmen and Senators with telegrams indicating lack of public support of the President's action. He showed that at least two hundred thousand such telegrams had been sent and that there were seven forms of messages used.

That the United States could not place an embargo on the exportation of war munitions and supplies without committing a breach of neutrality has been admitted by the German authorities, including the German ambassador, Count von Bernstorff. It was also made clear that such a step would sacrifice a right upon which the safety of the United States might in the future depend. Yet this is another of the causes of the hostility of un-American Americans to President Wilson.

EMBARGO PLAN UNPATRIOTIC.

On this point also many Republican leaders have spoken emphatically. Said Senator Sutherland in the same speech above quoted:

"There is a demand on the part of a good many people that we shall prohibit the exportation of munitions of war. I am opposed to any such embargo for two reasons: First, because it would clearly constitute a breach of neutrality; and, second, it would inaugurate a policy from which the United States itself in the future might become the greatest sufferer, since if we should be attacked by a great nation possessing overwhelming military strength we might be dependent upon neutral countries—at least in the early stages of the conflict—for a supply of munitions with which to repel the attack. The rule of international law, recognized almost universally, is that citizens of a neutral country have a lawful right to sell and deliver to belligerent powers arms and munitions of war, without limit as to character or quantity. This has been the rule laid down by the responsible officials of the United States from the beginning of our history to the present day. If we

should now take the first step which would finally result in the establishment of a general rule prohibiting the sale of munitions of war by citizens of neutral countries to belligerents, it is not at all unlikely that we might ourselves become the first victims of the new dispensation. It has been our custom, in accordance with the usual practice of democracies, to delay serious military preparation until war was declared. Thus far we have sometimes creditably gotten through, and sometimes muddled through; but suppose at no far-distant day some great military power with a vast army, vast military resources, dissatisfied with something we have done, or pretending to be dissatisfied, should take advantage of our defenseless condition and set in motion its tremendous instruments of war against us. If in that situation there should be added to our lack of a trained army a lack of arms and munitions, and if the neutral markets of the world should be closed to us, none of us, I think, would care to contemplate the unhappy and humiliating fate which we might be compelled to face."

Violations of American life and property while engaged in legitimate enterprises upon American soil have been numerous. To the limit of the authority of the Federal Government, the national administration under President Wilson has brought the perpetrators of such outrages to justice under American laws. To reach cases not covered by statute, revision of old law has been sought and obtained.

This enforcement of the neutrality laws and the criminal laws against acts committed in alien interests has been thorough but impartial.

Diplomats Violated U. S. Laws

Diplomatic immunity and nothing else stood between Captain Franz von Papen, military attache of the German Embassy at Washington, and conviction under the criminal laws of the United States. The strong hand of the Department of Justice, enforcing America's neutrality under the orders of President Wilson, "got" von Papen and other agents of Germany. Together with the others implicated in the same conspiracy, von Papen was indicted by the Federal Grand Jury at New York early in 1916, in the Welland Canal case. Had von Papen not been attached to the German Embassy, the law would have taken its course.

Captain von Papen's recall was requested by Secretary of State Lansing early in December, 1915. At the same time the Administration asked for the recall of the German naval attache, Captain Boy-Ed. The ground for this request, as officially put, was that these gentlemen were no longer "acceptable to this government."

Germany recalled her military and naval attaches, and the press of the United States, regardless of party, praised the Administration for its efficient house cleaning. The full story of the activities of Captains Boy-Ed and von Papen, personal appointees of the Kaiser, has never yet been told.

STAND BY PRESIDENT FOR "AMERICA FIRST"

German-Born Congressman Declares Wilson's Course Just to Germany and Elevates Him Far Above Rulers of Europe

(The following is a partial presentation of a speech delivered in the National House of Representatives July 18, 1916, by Representative Charles Lieb of Indiana. Mr. Lieb was born and grew to boyhood in Germany. He is a former German of the type so well esteemed and so creditably and substantially identified with the political, social and business life of all sections of the United States for the past fifty years. His utterance is not a "campaign speech," for he is not a candidate for renomination. It represents the view of an Americanized German not influenced by un-American prejudice, propaganda or interests. The speech contains a candid, strong and practically complete review of the difficult questions growing out of the European War which have confronted President Wilson. It should be read by every American who desires to be fair to the President and who is in doubt whether an honest neutrality has been maintained against all belligerents by the Wilson Administration. The elisions deal solely with matter elsewhere presented in the Text-Book, with references local to Indiana, or with quotations from other Americanized Germans expressing substantially Mr. Lieb's views. This speech may be obtained in full on application to the Democratic National Committee or the Democratic Congressional Committee.)

Mr. LIEB. Mr. Speaker, I was born in Germany (at Flehingen). At the age of 14 years I came to the United States in response to a youthful conviction that freedom and success could be realized here as in no other land. I stood as in the presence of God and swore allegiance to the land of my adoption. I did so without the least misgivings as to the wisdom of my decision to give up all national ties with the country of my birth, thereby unalterably casting my lot with the greatest Nation in the world, the United States. [Applause.] Never to this day have I wavered in my conception of duty to the country of my adoption. Never have I allowed myself to be influenced by any other motive than that involving loyalty to the United States. [Applause.]

To-day I speak in the presence of Representatives of every section of the Republic. I seek with honest intent and purpose to express my humble convictions of the duties of all those claiming citizenship under the flag of all flags.

I sincerely trust that whatever I might say will not be considered as having connection with any political ambitions, for I am not a candidate for office, and I so informed my constituents soon after I took my oath of office for a second term in Congress.

Not very long ago the Congress of the United States considered the resolution for warning American citizens not to take passage on armed merchant vessels. As a Congressman representing a constituency in an Indiana district of more

than a quarter of a million of people I felt it my duty more than ever before to give my country the benefit of my best judgment in a matter involving the honor and future well-being of every one of a hundred millions of people. Furthermore, the question involved the well-being of millions of people of other lands who were so fortunate as not to be drawn into the vortex of the great war of nations on the other side of the sea.

VOTED TO SUSTAIN WILSON.

While it is already a matter of record that I voted to sustain President Wilson and his policies in the armed-ship controversy [applause on the Democratic side], I now feel that it is incumbent on me to express my full attitude on this and other questions. I have received scores of letters from people who say they are of German extraction, and who desire to have my views, pointing to the fact that other Members of Congress had made statements, but that none had been printed in the Record from me.

Closely following the tabling of the McLemore resolution came the address of President Wilson to Congress outlining the contents of the note of the United States to Germany in regard to submarine warfare. Coincident with this was a deluge of telegrams and letters I received from constituents requesting my offices in helping to keep the United States out of war with Germany.

In addition to this mass of correspondence, there have been numerous complaints in which the neutrality of our own country has been questioned. In fact, there has been such a turmoil since the outbreak of the war, in which accusations have been promiscuously and unjustly made against our beloved and patriotic President, Woodrow Wilson, that hardly a mail has failed to contain some kind of protest. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Therefore I feel obliged and justified in discussing freely every phase of the war situation as it concerns the neutrality of the United States and the wisdom of the policies of Woodrow Wilson.

No man has had greater trials as President of the United States than Woodrow Wilson, with the possible exception of Abraham Lincoln. In the midst of these great problems it must be admitted that our President has maintained a splendid poise. OH, THAT THE RULERS OF EUROPE HAD DISPLAYED ONE-HALF THE PATIENCE AND LEVEL HEADEDNESS AS THAT WHICH HAS CHARACTERIZED THE BEARING OF WOODROW WILSON IN STEERING HIS COUNTRY SAFELY THROUGH ONE GREAT CRISIS AFTER ANOTHER! AND WHERE IS THERE A DIGNITARY IN THE UNITED STATES TO-DAY WHO COULD HAVE MATCHED WITH THE DIPLOMATIC SAGACITY AND COURAGE OF OUR OWN LEADER, IN DEALING IN MATTERS OF INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE?

Indeed, there has hardly been a day since the late summer of that terrible year of 1914 when something has not been

pending, where a single false step by our President would have plunged us into the awful holocaust of human lives. For we must not think only of the lives that have been sacrificed, but of the ones left at home whose dear ones have been put forever beyond their wordly reach.

WILSON'S SINCERITY UNQUESTIONED.

Why should anyone have ever doubted the since desire of Mr. Wilson to keep us free from the horrors of warfare? Following the situation as closely as I have I cannot see one move of the President which has justified the least suspicion that Woodrow Wilson had any other motive than peace, if peace were at all possible. And yet that very criticism has been made in connection with every step of negotiation it has been necesasry for this country to conduct. But let us not forget that the history of our country bears out the contention oft made that the greatest of our national patriots have been subjected to the harshest criticism. Point out to me the men who have the least to do in their dealings with the rest of humanity and I will show you the men who have been subjected to the least of criticism.

But I predict that in years to come, in calm moments of retrospection, these same decriers of the President's handling of our recent foreign complications will be the loudest in their praise of the valiant service rendered the country by Woodrow Wilson. For as history shows us that some of the greatest deeds result in the harshest of unjust criticism, so history unfolds to us a corresponding inclination of national decriers to eventually heap words of praise upon those whose duty to their country is manifested by service that in other ages loom up as towers of hope to those standing for right, justice and humanity.

(Mr. Lieb here inserted quotations showing Carl Schurz at one time bitterly criticized Lincoln but afterwards paid him high tribute; that Maximilian Harden, the German publicist, has sustained President Wilson's contentions in the German negotiations.)

THE SUBMARINE QUESTION.

This brings us to the submarine question and the United States insistence that the points of international law be strictly adhered to, as affecting non-combatants. I HAVE BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH DIPLOMATIC AND LEGISLATIVE CHANNELS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FOR MANY MONTHS, AND I AM FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION HAS AT ALL TIMES DEMANDED OF EVERY BELLIGERENT GOVERNMENT THE PROTECTION OF NEUTRAL LIVES AND PROPERTY. Diplomatic correspondence has been carried on with Great Britain and the allies with the same fervor that has characterized the exchange of notes between the United States and Germany. England has been charged with numerous arbitrary changes by royal order, and, it is alleged, has been untroubled by the requirements of law on the high seas.

Germany was in the first place censured for the sinking of the Lusitania and for the conduct of her submarine war.

Many in our land were so bold as to charge we showed extreme partiality in demanding things of Germany, while putting off our negotiations with England. But the President insisted that the two cases dealt with separate varieties of American rights. * * *

GERMANY YIELDS TO UNITED STATES.

WHEN PRESIDENT WILSON MADE UP HIS MIND THAT A LONG CHAIN OF GERMAN METHODS OF CONDUCTING UNDERSEA WARFARE HAD WORN AWAY AND BROKEN TO PIECES THE LAWS OF HUMANITY AND THE HOLY CUSTOM OF NATIONS, IT WAS NOT ONLY HIS RIGHT BUT HIS DUTY TO SPEAK WITH UNCOMPROMISING CLEARNESS. AND HE DID WITH UNMISTAKABLE FIRMNESS, WHEN, ON APRIL 20, A NOTE WAS DISPATCHED TO THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT. THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT YIELDED IN THE FACE OF THE EVIDENCE IT HAD BEEN GUILTY OF VIOLATING THE LAWS OF THE SEAS, AND ADMITTED THE CONTENTIONS OF OUR PRESIDENT HAD BEEN JUST AND FAIR.

Germany had embarked upon a policy which violated every principle of international law. Instead of capturing vessels, she proceeded to send them to the bottom of the ocean. Her submarines laid in wait in many instances and without even giving passengers a reasonable opportunity to take to their boats, and trust themselves to the dangers of the deep, sent them to the bottom without reasonable warning and without chance of escape.

To those who have complained because we have been less insistent with England than with Germany I want to call attention to a few features of the entire controversy well worth consideration.

FIRST, WHY SHOULD ANYBODY COMPLAIN BECAUSE WE PUSH A MURDER CLAIM WITH GREATER VIGOR THAN WE DO A CLAIM INVOLVING SEIZURE OF PROPERTY?

SECOND, IN THE CASE OF ENGLAND THERE WAS A REMEDY BECAUSE UPON SEIZING OUR SHIPS THEY TOOK THE MATTER INTO A COURT OF LAW TO TRY THE QUESTION OF HER RIGHT TO CONFISCATE THE PROPERTY. BUT IN THE CASE OF GERMANY, WHEN AMERICAN MEN AND WOMEN AND CHILDREN WERE SENT TO THE BOTTOM OF THE SEA, NO POSSIBLE REMEDY WAS OPEN. LIFE CANNOT BE RESTORED BY THE PAYMENT OF DAMAGES. BLOOD SPILLED CANNOT BE COMPENSATED IN MONEY.

Consequently no fair person can deny that we have dealt with those nations with rigid impartiality.

WARNING RESOLUTION UNCALLED FOR.

The question of warning Americans against traveling on armed merchant vessels was entirely foreign to the vital questions of diplomacy. Every person knew it was dangerous to travel on any kind of merchant vessel. Why warn a man when he is already warned? Besides, had Congress passed the McLemore resolution, it would have interfered with the negotiations for abandonment of submarine warfare at the expense of lives of non-combatants. It would have embarrassed the Government at a critical time. Whatever sentiment was created in favor of the proposed resolution was the result of a spell of hysteria which developed about that time. This hysteria was assuredly not based on any foundation of human justice. Had it been founded on human justice and had it been in the interest of the neutrality of America, I am quite sure President Wilson would have been the first one to champion its speedy passage.

I received more than 1,000 telegrams and letters from constituents on April 25 or thereabouts. With one or two exceptions these seemed to originate from a common source. By that I mean to say that the reading of the messages was identical. Therefore I am glad to say that certain statements in these messages which were uncalled for were not the expressions of the persons whose names were signed thereto. For instance, this unpatriotic statement was made: "Country awakening to belief that administration may seek to draw United States into present European conflict."

WILSON SHUNNED WAR.

How it originated I do not know, but the impression seemed to take hold in some quarters that we were recklessly headed for war. The same persons who insisted upon this theory, that the President was deliberately trying to get into the conflict in Europe, were only subscribing to the unfortunate impression created abroad that citizens of this country believed the United States was to blame for demanding rights which we, as well as other neutrals, were justified in holding out for. In the crisis he faced the President should have had the hearty support of every man, woman and child in America. For it developed that Mr. Wilson pursued exactly the right course. ANY OTHER ATTITUDE OF THE PRESIDENT WOULD HAVE PLUNGED US EITHER INTO WAR OR PROLONGED THE SUBMARINE CONTROVERSY. No matter what other construction may be put, I say that Germany's answer was an open admission that Wilson was not only right, but fair. Another President might have gone to war with Germany, without sending any kind of note. And we all ought to thank God that there was a Woodrow Wilson in the White House to withstand the pressure of war seekers on the one hand and the war partial on the other. Wilson's course was the middle road, and he fearlessly took that road. We have all much to be thankful for for that as true Americans and with allegiance to one flag, and one flag only.

* * * Prejudicial construction has been put to matters summed up by our country from unbiased decisions based on the international laws.

From hundreds of press accounts of complaints of the combating nations I have selected the following dispatch, coming from London under date of January 15:

"If Count von Bernstorff succeeds in obtaining a *quid pro quo* for the outward recantation by Germany of her acts of piracy, and succeeds in enlisting the United States as one of Germany's minor, indirect allies in her efforts to rule the world, we may expect fresh attacks upon our interpretation of international law. If President Wilson should elect to walk the road so obligingly constructed for him by Berlin, it is well he should realize where it is going to lead him."

Says the *Pall Mall Gazette*:

"The British Empire, which is shedding blood and not ink for the vindication of 'neutral rights,' has reached a stage in the conflict where technicalities will not be allowed to restrain the legitimate use of all its weapons of warfare. Our right to prevent supplies from reaching the enemy is absolute, and if the process assumes fresh disguises, it is the business of international law to strip them off and not to be fettered by the wording of its former rescripts.

"No British government would dare to relax its grip on Germany now in deference to its interests and threats of outsiders, who are chiefly interested in what profit they can make out of the world's agony. The blockade in future must be tighter instead of looser, and nothing will impart to it a sterner temper than any external interference."

ACCUSED BY PRO-ENGLISH AS INDIRECT ALLIES OF THE IMPERIAL GERMAN GOVERNMENT! ACCUSED BY PRO-GERMANS AS INDIRECT ALLIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN!

(Mr. Lieb here took up the question of the right of the United States to export munitions of war to the Allies and quoted many authorities, including the German Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, as admitting the right).

"DEUTSCHLAND" PROVES UNITED STATES RIGHT.

We could look nowhere to find better evidence of the impartiality of this administration than the case of the "Deutschland," the merchant submarine liner. This craft came from Germany with a cargo of goods which was delivered at an American port. On the return trip American-made goods, as well as nickel and rubber, which are used in the manufacture of war material, were allowed to clear the port, bound for Germany. This vessel could just as well have carried guns and ammunition, for our Government permits our manufacturers to sell to anyone who comes to buy—to do otherwise would be a breach of our neutrality.

The coming of the "Deutschland" was nothing else but an admission that the United States Government has been within its rights in permitting merchant vessels to carry goods to the allies. For if Germany takes goods out of this country to be used in the manufacture of its guns, it certainly does not

believe the United States could honorably prevent the allies from doing the same thing. If Germany could turn the tables on the allies in the blockade situation, it of course would have a distinct advantage, but because the advantage has been on the other side all along is no indication that the administration has been unneutral or unfair to Germany.

The reception given the "Deutschland" crew in Washington proved distinctly that neutrality really exists in the seat of our Government. And conversely it disproves the theory that there is any hostile feeling here in official quarters toward the Imperial German Government.

In fact, the whole attitude of the United States Government in giving a clearance status to the "Deutschland"; in allowing it to deliver its merchandise; in allowing it to take away cargo, part of which was a product of the soil of Canada; in giving its crew a cordial reception as it would the subjects of any other foreign nation in a legitimate quest, is all a striking indication that the best of friendly relations exist between this country and Germany.

REPUBLICAN TRICKERY.

Politicians are just now playing a great game to win the German vote in the coming election. Every sort of trickery is being resorted to. I believe I am right in warning German-Americans to proceed cautiously in considering the conditions.

On the one hand, we behold the spectacle of the Hughes-Roosevelt's sponsors trying to entice Germans from the Democratic to the Republican Party. On the other hand, we look over the Republican platform and fail to find a mention of the very issues they are trying to raise by mouth and pen. YES, THEY COME TO YOU, FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, AND SAY WILSON WAS WRONG ON THE EMBARGO QUESTION, THAT HE WAS WRONG ON THE SUBMARINE ISSUE. BUT IF THEY BELIEVE THOSE THINGS SO ENTHUSIASTICALLY JUST ASK THEM IF THEIR PLATFORM CONTAINS ONE WORD OF CRITICISM IN CONDEMNATION OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S STAND ON THE EMBARGO QUESTION OR ON THE SUBMARINE QUESTION OR ON THE QUESTION OF THE RIGHT OF AMERICAN CITIZENS TO TRAVEL ON ARMED BELLIGERENT VESSELS ARMED FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES ONLY.

"Oh!" they will say, "our platform covers that point when we condemn the present administration for its foreign policies."

"But," you can answer, "the platform could just as well be construed that a Republican administration would have declared war on Germany."

Perhaps Mr. Hughes, who has been silent on all public questions for the past six years, may have the audacity to come out of his hiding at this time and this day and tell the people what he would have done under the trying circumstances that President Wilson went through, now that he has the passing of time to aid him in his hindsight.

HOW PRESIDENT WILSON KEPT PEACE AND HONOR

Story of American European Policy and Its Enforcement Against All Belligerents

The European War has inflicted upon mankind the greatest catastrophe of all the ages. America has been spared participation in this punishment. In the two years in which Europe has been engulfed in a maelstrom of horrors unprecedented and almost inconceivable, America has been free to pursue the even tenor of the days of peace.

This has been made possible by the policy of President Wilson. He has held back from America the tide of destruction which already had spread over one hemisphere, and withal has preserved the honor of the nation as the sacred heritage of this generation and of posterity. The President has had a single purpose: to maintain, by peaceful methods, the rights of the United States fixed under international law. That ideal comprehends the desire that this nation remain untrammelled to follow its own high destiny and to serve mankind by aiding in the reestablishment of peace. His policy has been successful. Two years of war for Europe have been two years of peace for the United States. America's honor has been preserved. The nation is free to perform the supreme service, when the opportune moment arrives, to assist in the restoration of peace throughout the world.

The paramount test to which Americanism has been subjected during the Administration of President Wilson has been applied in the country's foreign relations. The United States has passed through a period of perilous crises, wherein the danger existed that the whole course of its future history might be changed, with the inevitable consequence that its public men have been and are being judged primarily by the part they have played with respect to these events of international import and the attitude they have taken toward the policies evolved to meet them.

President Wilson's place in history has been fixed primarily, therefore, by his "war" policies. His greatest claim to the love of his fellow countrymen today and to the veneration of posterity is that by his policy of common sense and his understanding of American ideals he has been enabled to prevent this nation from sharing the desolation of Europe without sacrificing its honor. His complete understanding of the essential qualities that constitute Americanism, his self-possession, his ability to ignore all consideration of the effects of his acts upon his own fortunes, have placed in his

hands the most effective weapon ever wielded by the head of a great nation for the accomplishment of a high national purpose. Other Presidents and the executives of other nations have displayed both the ability and the willingness to utilize physical power in compelling the fulfillment of their wishes and the wishes of their nations, but no man ever has succeeded as he has done in focusing the moral power of one nation and of forging it into so effective an instrumentality for enforcing that nation's will. In this period when the horrible wastage of European conflicts have inspired doubts as to whether physical force is the supreme arbiter of international differences, he has demonstrated that moral courage achieves high national purpose more quickly and with greater certainty than does the courage based on force. His firm and consistent stand for law and right has produced what it set out to produce.

FORCE STILL FACTOR.

Nothing that has been said here can properly be regarded as indicating that the President has utterly repudiated the idea that physical force should be used in extreme eventualities. He believes, and has said repeatedly, that situations can arise when a nation must resort to physical strength in order to maintain its honor and the rights of its citizens, but he is happy in the realization that thus far the nation has faced no demands which could not be met by the calm assertion of its will.

We are a practical people here in America. A man is vindicated by his achievements and not by high purposes alone. It may be that the future historian will display greater interest in the ideals which have animated President Wilson than in the actual accomplishments of his policies, but for the present the case rests, and with the concurrence of his protagonists, upon what he has achieved. These achievements were won by diplomacy, but they are of that elemental relationship to the life of the nation which brings them easily within the understanding of every citizen.

It requires no grasp of international law to realize the importance of what President Wilson accomplished when he forced Germany to abandon her submarine warfare against unarmed merchant ships. The German undersea warfare was carried on at the sacrifice of many American lives. It was undertaken to weaken Great Britain's mastery of the seas, and Germany, believing her national existence at stake, seemed for a time prepared to continue it regardless of its effect upon the lives of neutrals. It seemed then that the United States could choose between relinquishing the rights of her citizens to travel on the merchant ships owned by Germany's enemies and severing diplomatic relations with Germany. Such was not the outcome, because the President caused Germany to abandon the harsh but effective weapon she had invoked and to respect the rights of Americans. To-

Mr. Hughes, what would you have done in the British or German negotiations that Woodrow Wilson has not done? And what has President Wilson done that you would not have done?

day American citizens are free to travel wherever duty or their interests call them, over every ocean lane, with no uncertainty as to whether their lives will be endangered or their rights disregarded. **THE MOST SUCCESSFUL WAR COULD HAVE ACCOMPLISHED NO MORE THAN THIS.**

THE BRITISH NEGOTIATIONS.

The belligerents on the other side to this war, however, have not failed to violate American rights. What have been the accomplishments of the President's policy in respect to the activities of Great Britain and her allies, which concerned the interests of the United States? Let us enumerate them:

First, the President has forced substantial modifications of Great Britain's policy toward American commerce, bringing it more nearly within the limitations of international law, as instance the change from the irregular policy embodied in the various Orders in Council, to a more definite blockade policy to which can be applied the recognized rules of international law, although in a fashion which is not yet satisfactory to the United States.

Second, Great Britain and her allies have been held responsible for every violation of international law in their relations with the United States; the American case has been thoroughly prepared, earnestly argued and is now complete to date, thus assuring the just settlement of our claims, when a period of greater calmness permits an even-handed weighing of this evidence through the instrumentality of arbitration or of other means of investigation.

The difference between the American difficulties with Great Britain and those with the Teutonic Governments are most clearly indicated in this simple summary of what the President has accomplished. **The American case against Great Britain is comparable to a civil case in an American court.**

It involved dollars and cents and financial losses in terms thereof. The United States could well afford to rely in the prosecution of its case upon the processes of the civil courts, namely, the presentation of evidence and insistence upon the application of clearly pertinent provisions of law. Since the

civil elements of international law alone were trenched upon by Great Britain, the proper sentence against her was a fine and the payment of damages. These the United States has assessed, and is intent upon assessing whenever the evidence in the case justifies.

GERMANY VIOLATED RIGHT OF LIFE.

Germany, on the other hand, inflicted little damage upon the property of Americans, but she committed crimes against them, in sacrificing their lives, so that the honor of their Government was involved.

The difference in the offense of the two belligerents was clearly stated by Secretary of State Lansing in this excerpt from an address at Watertown, New York:

"The violation of the natural right of life is a much more serious offense against an individual and against his nation than the violation of the legal right of property. There is not and cannot be adequate recompense for the wrongful destruction of life, but property losses can be satisfied by the payment of indemnities. If one belligerent violates the rights of life and another belligerent violates the right of property, can you doubt for a moment which one gives this Government the greatest concern, or which one will call forth the more vigorous protest and the more earnest effort to prevent repetitions of the offense? A Government which places life and property on an equality would be generally condemned, and justly condemned."

The purpose of this article is to tell in simple fashion the story of how President Wilson kept the country out of war and spared it the dishonor which would have resulted from continued infringements upon its essential rights. It is realized that nothing could be said in praise of this policy which would be half so impressive as the mere fact recital of what it has accomplished. **The glories of peace need no interpreter for America, for these ordinary attributes of our life which the President has protected and conserved are daily brought into relief against the blackened and flame-licked skies of Europe.**

The President has had a single policy for all of the European belligerents. It was to stand firmly and impartially for the observance of international law wherever the rights of American citizens might be involved. This policy he has adhered to with absolute consistence.

The President never has assented tacitly or openly to a violation of any accepted principle of international law which related to the rights of neutrals or the common rights of mankind. He never has failed to state the case against any of the belligerents when events put him forward as a proper spokesman. Despite the terrific forces which the war has unloosed here in America, the President has steered a straight course, proceeding firmly upon the theory that the United States could be guided by but one light in these days of un-

precedented circumstances. The principles of international law he has applied to both parties of belligerents, and the only difference which has occurred in our relations with the entente powers on the one hand and with the Teutonic powers on the other was due to the character of the violations of international law which the two parties committed.

The President's mind does not oscillate. He saw clearly at the outset that the only hope for protecting American rights and avoiding American participation in the war lay in the strict maintenance of the principles of international law. Likewise he realized that the same course was held up to the vision of America because of the duty that devolved upon her, as the greatest free Government, to keep alight the torch of international justice and international right in a period when the other great conservators of these principles seemed bent upon extinguishing them.

AMERICA'S DUTY DECLARED.

The purpose of maintaining international law left but one course open to the President. That was to proclaim American neutrality. It was the President's first step. He announced to the world in a series of formal executive proclamations, issued in 1914, as each belligerent entered the war, that America would remain neutral. Each proclamation defined for American citizens the limitations fixed by international law and the laws of the United States upon their activities in a time of conflict between powers with whom the United States was on terms of amity. These included specific inhibitions as to giving aid to either side by outfitting armed ships, supplying the armed ships of belligerents, or otherwise aiding the belligerents to utilize the waters and the coasts of the United States as bases of military operations. The President promised the world that America's judgments would be even-handed upon the issues presented to her and that neither her moral nor her material power would be exerted against either side so long as the rights of this nation were respected.

The President was not content to rely upon a mere legal neutrality. He thought that the ideals of America demanded something more of her citizens. He determined, in so far as he might be able to, to maintain a spiritual neutrality here in the United States. August 18, 1914, the President issued a statement from the White House warning the people of the country "against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides." "The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in deeds during these days that are to try men's souls," declared the President. "We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference for one party to the struggle before another."

The President even then foresaw the turbulence which

would arise in the life of the country as the result of clashes among the interests and the sentiments of our foreign-born citizens. He pointed the way to the avoidance of these disasters, and substantiated his plea with this lofty argument:

"Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind, and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend."

"My thought is of America," the President went on; "I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action; a nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own councils and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world."

The President had formulated his policy and had stated it. He had adopted the policy formulated by Washington and Jefferson in other European wars. It remained for him to apply its high principles.

THE FIRST NEGOTIATIONS.

The first diplomatic correspondence between the United States and the belligerent governments was begun by the United States in August, 1914, as a measure of preparedness. The United States proposed that all of the belligerents accept the unratified Declaration of London as the code of international law to be applied during the war. The Declaration of London contained the most advanced international code of naval warfare which had been produced out of the experiences of civilization. Although by no means satisfactory in certain respects, its provisions were more definite than the provisions of the generally accepted law of nations as to the interpretation of which there were differences of opinion.

To Candidate Hughes:—

Would you have filed instant protest against the invasion of Belgium and backed up that protest with the United States Navy?

One of ten questions addressed to Mr. Hughes August 1, 1916, by a committee of thirty-six famous American authors.

Germany and Austria assented, August 14, 1914, on the condition that the other belligerents do so, but Great Britain and her allies were unwilling to consent, because it would have barred measures by which they planned to utilize their control of the seas against Germany. The allied belligerents declared they would enforce the Declaration with "modifications."

Great Britain then proceeded to inaugurate a policy for the suppression of German commerce, which was promulgated by a series of radical Orders in Council, extending the lists of conditional and absolute contraband beyond the articles prescribed by the Declaration of London or in previously recognized formulations of international law. It soon became evident that the modifications which the British Orders in Council were making in the Declaration of London would reduce the so-called application of that code to the category of mockery, so the United States, on October 22, 1914, informed all of the belligerents that she felt obliged to withdraw the suggestion that the Declaration of London be adopted for the period of the war.

In its note of withdrawal the United States gave notice of what its policy for the war would be. It said: "This Government will insist that the rights and duties of the Government and citizens of the United States in the present war be defined by existing rules of international law and the treaties of the United States without regard to the provisions of the declaration, and that the Government of the United States reserves to itself the right to enter a protest or demand in every case in which the rights and duties so defined are violated, or their friendly exercise interfered with by the authorities of the belligerent government."

BRITAIN HELD TO ACCOUNT.

Meanwhile, Great Britain had ceased to observe the requirement of international law that a ship bearing goods of suspected enemy destination be visited and searched upon the high seas. British ships were compelling American vessels bound for ports of neutral countries contiguous to Germany to enter British ports in order that their cargoes be investigated. American ships were held in port indefinitely awaiting decision by the British commerce authorities or the prize court. Although international law did not authorize it, Great Britain was seeking to prevent contraband articles from reaching neutral countries where she would be powerless to prevent their reexportation to Germany and Austria. The British policy aroused a growing unwillingness among ship owners to accept cargoes for the indicated neutral ports, thereby inflicting losses upon American shippers and depressing their industries.

Our note withdrawing the suggestion as to the Declaration of London, despatched in October, 1914, was followed, in December, by a sharp protest from the United States against the restraints which the British Government had placed upon American commerce.

This protest was confined in the main to the detention of

cargoes including contraband and conditional contraband bound from the United States to neutral ports. Severe criticism was made of Great Britain for attempting to prevent an absolutely legal trade in articles between the United States and other neutral countries, which might have been held contraband if destined to a belligerent, and the American Government declared that it viewed with growing concern "the large number of vessels laden with American goods destined to neutral ports which have been seized on the high seas, taken into British ports and detained sometimes for weeks by the British authorities." The United States postponed a discussion of the British contraband policy which had extended the definition of contraband to articles never before so classified under international law. It pointed out also that the immediate protest had been delayed purposely by the United States in the hope that, after a period for adjustment, the British authorities would adapt their hurriedly evolved emergency measures to international custom.

The sting of the American note lay in its conclusion, which stated that a growing public criticism of Great Britain was holding that nation responsible for depression in certain American industries dependent upon European markets, and notice was served that, if the existing condition of American trade with neutral countries was continued, it might "arouse a feeling contrary to that which has so long existed between the American and British peoples."

AROUSED AMERICA.

It was a telling argument which the President had made in behalf of American rights. Published in the United States the note had the effect of arousing the American people for the first time to the realization of the whole nation's interests in the war and to the possibility that these interests might eventually so conflict with the interests of the belligerent nations that drastic measures might follow.

The President's note brought an early reply from the British Government. That Government assured the United States of its sincere purpose not to interfere with trade between neutral nations "unless such interference is necessary to protect the belligerents' national safety, and then only to the extent to which this is necessary." Great Britain argued that the increase of American trade with Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Italy and Holland—the then neutral countries contiguous to the central belligerents—was substantial proof that these nations were re-exporting American goods to Germany and Austria. She declared that the Entente Allies were confronted with the growing danger "that neutral countries contiguous to the enemy will become on a scale hitherto unprecedented a base of supplies for the armed forces of our enemies and for materials for manufacturing armament." Great Britain indicated her intention to continue to intercept ships carrying goods really destined for the enemy and pointed out the difficulty of searching such ships on the high seas, thus attempting to justify her practice of conveying neutral cargoes into British ports for inspection.

The note of January 7 was followed, on February 10, by a more complete exposition of the British viewpoint. Great Britain was then enabled to advance statistics regarding the trade between the United States and the European neutrals which she judged to justify the conclusion that "the naval operations of Great Britain are not the cause of any diminution in the volume of American exports."

Great Britain claimed then that her policy of restraining trade which she believed to be of ultimate enemy destination was in accordance with the fundamental principles of international law, despite the charges of the United States as to the violation of special, recognized provisions of this law. It was stated also that the United States in the American Civil War had found it necessary to take vessels to United States ports in order to determine whether the circumstances justified their detention. The British note declared that inasmuch as all the food supplies of Germany had been placed under the control of the Central Government, thereby removing any distinction between the civil population and the armed forces of Germany, she could no longer consent to distinction in her contraband policy between foodstuffs intended for the civil population and those for the armed forces of her enemies. Attention was directed to the procedure which had been adopted in British prize courts with a view of expediting all cases of interest to neutral commerce as evidencing the friendliness which the British Government entertained for the United States.

"WAR ZONE" PROCLAMATION.

The two Governments had stated their position and were still far apart in their interpretations of international law respecting the rights of neutrals.

The United States was in a position to continue the negotiations and had been preparing to do so for days before the receipt of the British note of February 10, when a communication was received from Ambassador Gerard at Berlin conveying an announcement of the German "war zone" proclamation. That proclamation declared the waters of Great Britain and Ireland to be a war zone and announced that "on and after the 18th of February, 1915, every merchant ship found in the said war zone will be destroyed without its being always possible to avert the danger threatening the crews and passengers on that account." The German proclamation gave warning that even neutral ships could not escape danger in these areas. Sir Edward Grey had cited this proclamation in concluding his note of February 10 as justifying any disregard of international law which the British Government might have committed in adopting measures for the protection of her interests. "It is impossible for one belligerent to depart from rules and precedents and for the other to remain bound by them," declared the British foreign secretary.

The German Government, on the other hand, had published a memorial at Berlin citing British offenses against inter-

national law as justification for the war zone policy. Britain was held liable, as she had been held liable by the United States, for ignoring the provisions of international law permitting the importations of foodstuffs for the civil population of Germany; for the proclamation of the North Sea as a war area, thereby in effect making dangerous all approaches to neutral ports of the North Sea; and further for the misuse of neutral flags by British merchant ships.

Great Britain might argue that Germany's infringements upon international law justified her course with respect to neutral commerce, but the United States could not hearken for a moment to the German argument that the British blockade policy justified the Imperial Government in resorting to a submarine campaign which endangered American lives. The German war zone decree fell upon American official ears with a note of ominousness. For the first time, the lives of American citizens were threatened and the honor of the nation involved in the issues which had arisen.

"STRICT ACCOUNTABILITY."

The United States waited only three days to put Germany on notice as to how her war zone proclamation had impressed us.

February 10, a note was despatched to Berlin informing the Imperial Government that, in the opinion of the United States, "to declare or exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area of the high seas, without first certainly determining belligerent nationality and the contraband character of its cargo, would be an act so unprecedented in naval warfare" that the Government of the United States was reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany could contemplate such a course. Germany's argument, based upon the suspicion that enemy ships were using neutral flags improperly, was brushed aside by the United States with the declaration that the right of visit and search had been evolved to meet just such contingencies. The American Government said emphatically that it would be very hard indeed to reconcile the friendly relations subsisting between the two governments with the "indefensible violation of neutral rights" which the Imperial Government threatened. Finally, the United States warned Germany that she would hold the German Government "to a strict accountability" for such acts of their naval authorities and would "take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."

Despite his unwillingness to admit the validity of the German argument, based upon the suspected misuse of neutral flags by the British Government, the President on the same day sent a note to Great Britain urging

that, in view of the German pronouncement, the British Government refrain from jeopardizing the vessels of neutrals by authorizing or sanctioning the general use of neutral flags by British ships.

February 19, 1915, the British Government replied with reference to the misuse of neutral flags that it had not directed any of its ships to raise them in the war zone, but that it would be unreasonable to expect the British Government to pass legislation forbidding the use of foreign flags to avoid capture, inasmuch as many nations had recognized the practice and none had forbidden it. The British Government declared it the duty of a belligerent war ship to ascertain the nationality and character of a merchant vessel before capturing or destroying it and added that if that obligation were fulfilled the hoisting of a neutral flag on a British vessel could not possibly endanger neutral shipping. If loss to neutrals should be caused by disregard of this obligation, the British Government would disclaim responsibility.

Germany replied February 16, 1915, in a note which sought to justify her intended policy as a measure of self-defense. Germany cited her abstention from violations of international law theretofore as contrasting with the British naval policy and declared that the effect of the belligerents' attitude toward international law had been to deprive Germany's civilian population of the right to trade with neutrals in non-contraband articles, whereas England could trade unstintedly even in munitions of war. The German note put forward for the first time an intimation that the United States ought to stop the trade in munitions of war as a reprisal for British commerce infringements.

As regards the war zone policy, the German Government gave notice of its intention not to recede from it. It expressed

A MIGHTY PEN.

A great deal of fun has been had over "note-writing"—although we used in other days to be fond of quoting "The pen is mightier than the sword." But President Wilson had just two tools he could use—his pen with his brain behind it, OR YOUR LIFE. That is all he had. He could send NOTES, or he could send HUMAN LIVES. He had to use either the tools of diplomacy, or he had to use American fathers and brothers and sons—of whom YOU would likely have been one. NOW—ASIDE FROM PARTISAN PREFERENCES—WHICH WOULD YOU PREFER A PRESIDENT TO RISK FIRST: HIS PEN, OR YOUR LIFE? PRESIDENT WILSON TRIED HIS PEN FIRST. IF THE PEN HAD FAILED THROUGH ANY WEAKNESS IN ITS HANDLING, HE WOULD HAVE HAD TO FALL BACK UPON THE BODIES OF AMERICAN MEN, OFFERED AS SACRIFICES ON THE ALTAR OF BATTLE. BUT THE NOTES DID NOT FAIL, BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT WEAK NOTES, AND THEY WERE NOT WRITTEN BY A WEAK MAN.—From the Detroit News (Ind.).

its determination to suppress the British importations of war material by every means at its disposal, and, while declaring it far from its purpose ever to destroy neutral lives and neutral property, pointed out that travel in the war zone would not be without danger. The German Government expressly declined all responsibility for "accidents" in the war zone.

PLAN TO AVOID "ACCIDENTS."

The United States forthwith, on February 20, submitted its second proposal to the belligerents for an agreement to change the rules of war. It was a *modus vivendi* which both sides were to engage:

First, not to sow floating mines nor plant anchored mines upon the high seas, to stamp all mines with the stamp of the Government planting them and to use only mines which would become harmless if separated from their moorings.

Second, that neither would use submarines to attack merchant vessels except to enforce the right of visit and search.

Third, that each belligerent would require its merchant vessels not to use neutral flags as a ruse of war.

Germany was to agree that all importations of foodstuffs from the United States should be consigned to designated agencies which would insure that their use be limited to the civilian population and Great Britain to permit foodstuffs to enter Germany for the use of the civil population. This *modus vivendi* was concurred in by Germany March 1, but the British Government replied negatively in a note which characterized the proposed German methods of warfare as "entirely outside the scope of any of the international instruments regulating operations against commerce in time of war." The British communication declared that Germany proposed to substitute "indiscriminate destruction" for "regulated capture" of British merchant vessels and declared its intention "to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany."

This note inaugurated the British blockade of Germany. The United States impeached the legality of the British policy in a note despatched from Washington March 5, 1915. The United States held that a blockade to be legal must be effective—a test which the British policy could not meet because certain North Sea waters and those of the Baltic were out of British control. It pointed out also that the laws of blockade did not permit its extension to neutral countries.

An identical note was sent to the French Government. Both governments promptly replied with arguments which centered around the propriety of retaliatory measures against Germany for illegal submarine operations. It was evident that the arguments were describing a circle. On the one hand, Germany was seeking to justify her course by a recital of British shortcomings, and on the other the British Government was grounding its arguments entirely upon the justification of reprisal.

To Candidate Hughes:—

It is arrant nonsense to talk about action that would have prevented the *Lusitania* tragedy. The vague advertisement did not appear until shortly before the hour of sailing. The occurrence was one of those things that civilization had made the world regard as incredible. The only honest question is this: Would you have made the disaster the subject of diplomatic negotiations or would you have broken relations with Germany at once?

From list of ten questions addressed to Charles Evans Hughes August 1, 1916, by a Committee of thirty-six famous authors.

The United States continued to argue the case from the standpoint of international law while the German operations were continued. A note from the State Department, despatched March 30, 1915, asserted American adherence in the principle of "universal equality of sovereignty on the high seas." It described the British Order in Council announcing the blockade as "a practical assertion of unlimited belligerent right over neutral commerce within the whole European area and an almost unqualified denial of the sovereign rights of the nations now at peace." Notice was given that the British Government must be prepared "to make full reparation for every act which under the rules of international law constitutes a violation of neutral rights."

This was the status of American international relations when, on May 7, 1915, a German submarine torpedoed and sunk the British Steamship "Lusitania," causing the death of over 100 American citizens. The "Lusitania" attack culminated a series of incidents in which German activities had violated American rights. These included the sinking of the "Falaba," which had aboard one American citizen, an attack on the American vessel, "Cushing," by a German aeroplane, and the torpedoing of another American vessel, the "Gulflight." The sinking of the "Lusitania" brought the American Government to a decision between peace and war. Days passed in which the mounting horror and anger aroused by that incident threatened so to impassion the American people that war

would be inevitable. It was a time to test men's souls, particularly the soul of him who was called upon to pilot the American Government.

SOUGHT THE INNER SILENCES.

The President isolated himself. He desired a quiet space for clear thinking in order that he might judge the merits of the issue that faced him and not be swept from his feet by the tide of passion which was rising throughout the nation. The conclusion which the President formed was that the United States ought not yet to abandon its efforts to convince the German Government of the inhumanity and illegality of its course. He then set out to present the issues so clearly to the German Government that it could not escape passing upon them unequivocally, hoping in this way to prevent a repetition of the "Lusitania" tragedy.

The President, in a note sent to Berlin May 13, 1915, expressed the opinion that it was practically impossible for the German Government to employ submarines in the destruction of commerce without violating the principles of humanity and justice. He pointed out the difficulty of a submarine visiting and searching a merchantman as required by law. Germany was called upon to disavow the acts complained against, to make reparation so far as reparation was possible for the loss of human lives, and take steps immediately to prevent the recurrence of such outrages. The German Government was warned that the Government of the United States would not omit any word or act necessary to the protection of its citizens.

Germany did not attempt to justify the proposition that it could attack unarmed merchant vessels without meeting the obligation of visit and search and warning. She argued the "Lusitania" case and all of the other cases cited by the United States as special cases, bringing forward in each instance certain alleged circumstances, such as the claimed concealment of guns beneath the "Lusitania's" decks, as justification for the course which had been followed. She attempted to invoke the fact that the "Lusitania" carried contraband of war as further justification for that attack.

The German reply was received May 28, 1915. It was supplemented June 1 by a note in which the Berlin Government sought to prove that no violation of the principle of visit and search was involved in the "Gulflight" and "Cushing" cases, thereby implicitly recognizing this principle. June 9, the United States characterized as irrelevant that portion of the German argument which related to the presence of contraband aboard the "Lusitania" and officially denied that guns had been mounted beneath her decks. The United States solemnly informed the German Government that this Government was contending for something much greater than property rights or commerce privileges. "It is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity," declared the American note. The United States reiterated its demand for assurances as to the legality of Germany's future acts.

July 9, the German Government transmitted to the American Government a note which reiterated the whole argument regarding her right to adopt any practicable measures to suppress the shipment of munitions of war to her enemies and offering to protect the lives of Americans provided the American Government would consent to limit her citizens to traveling on American ships or on four British passenger ships which Germany proposed should be placed under the American flag. This note the United States regarded as very unsatisfactory because it failed to meet the real difference between the two governments and indicated in no way the attitude which Germany might be expected to take toward the accepted principles of law and humanity which were involved in the submarine operations.

PRESIDENT'S CHALLENGE TO GERMANY.

The President was naturally impatient at the continuance of an argument which was confined to matters beside the point on Germany's part. July 21, he pointed out how the interval since the "Lusitania" attack had demonstrated the practicability of confining submarine operations within the limitations of international law, and very emphatically informed the German Government that the United States expected a scrupulous observance of neutral rights in the future. The German Government was told that any repetition of previous incidents of violations of American right by German naval vessels would be viewed as "deliberately unfriendly"—a phrase of very definite and drastic import in diplomacy.

An intimation that the German Government was prepared to commit itself to an observance of the principle of visit and search had been conveyed in a note received from Berlin July 12, in which it expressed regret and offered to make compensation for an attack on the American steamer "Nebraska," which was in violation of this principle. Relations between the two governments became more and more strained, however, as weeks went by without any satisfactory statement from the German Government. August 19th saw an unwarmed attack upon the "Arabic." Americans were

A PAEAN OF THANKSGIVING.

THE praises of this policy (neutrality) are not written in the ruins of American homes, not in the wreck of American industries, not in the mourning of American families; they are found in the myriad evidences of prosperity and plenty that make this a contented land. From every whirling spindle in America, from every factory wheel that turns, from every growing thing that breathes its prayer of plenty to the skies from every quiet school, from every crowded mart, from every peaceful home goes up a song of praise, a paean of thanksgiving to hymn a nation's tribute, to the statesmanship that has brought these things to pass.

—From Martin H. Glynn's keynote speech.

aboard this ship, entitled to an opportunity for safe withdrawal before attack, just as the Americans aboard the "Lusitania" had been entitled to warning.

Tension developed rapidly then. Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, who was endeavoring to find a basis of settlement for the "Lusitania" case, was informed by the State Department that it did not wish to discuss that case until the "Arabic" incident had been definitely and satisfactorily settled. At the end of a week of uncertainty, in which a severance of diplomatic relations was almost momentarily expected even by high officials of the Government, the German Ambassador, on September 1, 1915, called upon Secretary of State Lansing and informed him that he had been instructed to deliver an answer to the last "Lusitania" note containing the following passage:

A DIPLOMATIC TRIUMPH.

"Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of non-combatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance."

This was the concession of the essential principle for which the United States had been contending. It opened the way for a discussion of means by which a settlement of the "Arabic" and "Lusitania" cases might be reached. With its demand complied with, this Government was free to seek compliance with the other demands which it had made or thought it necessary to make. Germany's intention to observe international law in her submarine operations was stated again in a note dated September 19, 1915, proposing a settlement of the "William P. Fry" case, in which it was stated:

"The German Government, in order to furnish to the American Government evidence of its conciliatory attitude, has issued orders to the German naval forces not to destroy American merchantmen which have loaded conditional contraband, even when the conditions of international law are presented, but to permit them to continue their voyage unhindered if it is not possible to take them into port."

October 5, 1915, the German Ambassador delivered a note to Secretary of State Lansing informing him that instructions to German submarines had been made so stringent that the recurrence of incidents similar to the "Arabic" case was considered out of the question. It was stated that the attack upon the "Arabic" had been committed in violation of these instructions and that the Im-

AMERICA has merely asserted her rights of her citizens and her Government upon what is written plain upon all the documents of international intercourse. (Woodrow Wilson.)

perial Government regretted and disavowed that attack and had notified Commander Schneider, the responsible submarine official of its disapproval. The German Government offered to pay an indemnity for the American lives lost on the "Arabic."

The United States thereupon set out a second time to test Germany's assurances that she would not violate American rights in her submarine operations. Only a few months were permitted to elapse, however, before it became clear that the conduct of a submarine campaign, such as Germany was intent upon, was impossible without violation of the rights of neutrals. The spring witnessed a series of happenings in which Germany's promises were vitiated either by the

WORLD-PROTECTION FOR SMALL NATIONS.

"We are not mere disconnected lookers-on."

"We must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere."

REPEATED utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has come to this, that the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of particular nations, and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind. * * *

This is undoubtedly the thought of America. This is what we ourselves will say when there comes proper occasion to say it. In the dealings of nations with one another arbitrary force must be rejected and we must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere. That thought constitutes a chief part of the passionate conviction of America. * * *

We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action. Second, that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon. And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.—From President Wilson's Address before League to Enforce Peace, Washington, May 27, 1916.

incompleteness of instructions to submarine commanders or by a willingness on the part of these officers to disregard instructions.

PLOTTERS FORCED TO LEAVE.

American relations with Germany were aggravated in the period by other circumstances not resulting from actual submarine operations. The State Department discovered evidence of activities of Capt. Franz Von Papen and Capt. Karl Boy-Ed, military and naval attaches of the German Embassy at Washington, in connection with the issuance of fraudulent passports, the fomenting of strikes and an unwarranted prying into American military secrets, which made the continued presence of these officials here intolerable. Their recall was therefore demanded and they left the country in December, 1915.

A difficulty arose in February, 1916, when Germany asserted her intention to attack armed merchantmen without warning. The American Government saw a clear violation of international law in such a course. After a careful study of precedents, the President caused the State Department to announce that, in the opinion of the United States, merchant ships may arm for defensive purpose without violating the law and that naval vessels are obliged to ascertain that the armament of such a ship is intended for offensive use before committing an attack. It was made clear that the United States intended to hold Germany responsible for unwarned attacks upon merchantmen bearing Americans, even if such ships were armed.

The armed ship controversy focused public attention on one of the greatest handicaps under which the President had labored throughout the negotiations with Germany. The German Government had been misled into the belief that America was divided on the issues involved in the German submarine campaign. The men who wrote the replies to the American notes had not fully realized that when the President spoke, America spoke, and, therefore, the danger always existed that Germany might refuse the President's demands in the expectation that he would be deterred from severing diplomatic relations by the operation of hyphenated and partisan political influences here in the United States.

THE TEST IN CONGRESS.

In late February, 1916, the Gore and McLemore resolutions were introduced in the Senate and House proposing that Americans be prevented from availing themselves of their right to travel on armed merchantmen. Prominent members of Congress declared that if permitted to come to a vote these measures would pass overwhelmingly. Unrecognized among most elements of our citizenship, this was the crisis in the relations between the United States and

Germany. Faltering would have meant to the German official mind that the President did not have the support of Congress for his policy and that the German submarine commander could safely disregard the warning given by the American Government. It was an issue which overshadowed all other issues of our international relations because it comprehended them, and the President recognized its importance. He called for a showdown.

The President gave notice that doubt could not longer be tolerated as to whether the influence of the American Government or a foreign Government was supreme in the nation, and added that the only possible hope for America passing unscathed through the testing time of the European war was by a strict maintenance of international law whenever it was violated. Those Congress leaders who had predicted the passage of the so-called "scuttle" resolutions were challenged to show their strength.

No uncertainty ever had existed in the President's mind as to the quality of patriotism which inspired the great majority of the Congress, and the test of strength which he forced eventuated in a way that more than justified his confidence. Early in March, despite the opposition of 101 Republicans, headed by Minority Leader Mann, the House rejected the McLeMORE resolution by a vote of 276 to 142. The Senate rejected the Gore resolution by a vote of 68 to 14, 12 of the noes being Republican votes.

THE SUSSEX "HORROR."

In March, unlawful attacks were made upon the "Manchester Guardian," the "Englishman," the "Berwinvale," the "Eagle Point," and finally upon the Channel ferryboat "Sussex," all of which carried Americans. The attack upon the "Sussex" was the most shocking occurrence of Germany's submarine campaign, except the sinking of the "Lusitania." "It must stand forth," to quote the President, "as the sinking of the steamer 'Lusitania' did, as so singularly tragic and unjustifiable as to constitute a truly terrible example of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels have for the past twelve-month been conducting it."

The President and the country felt that the point had been reached where the United States could not longer tolerate submarine operations by Germany on the scale and in the way which had theretofore been attempted. April 19, 1916, after an interchange of notes between the United States and Germany and careful investigations by American naval and diplomatic representatives had established that the "Sussex" was torpedoed without warning, in outright violation of international law, the President addressed the Congress upon the situation. He asserted that the "Sussex" attack and other outrages had made it "painfully evident that the position

which this Government took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, that the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment, of course, involves, incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals and the sacred immunities of non-combatants."

On the same day, the President sent an ultimatum to Germany, setting forth "that unless the Imperial German Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, this Government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether."

The American ultimatum was effective. Germany did not commit another unlawful submarine attack, thus meeting the President's demand that she effect an immediate abandonment of her previous methods of submarine warfare. May 4 the German Government forwarded to Washington a note stating that instructions had been given submarine commanders as follows:

WILSON'S DEMAND GRANTED.

"In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance."

Having acquiesced in the demands of the United States, Germany went on to discuss the American policy toward Great Britain and to intimate that the new restriction upon submarine operations might be removed unless the United States adopted more vigorous steps to alter the British blockade policy. Only one course was open to the Government of the United States. That was to accept Germany's compliance with our demands and to disregard the conditions which she by intimation placed upon this compliance. So it was that on May 8 the President sent a brief note to Berlin construing the German note as a complete acceptance of the conditions which the United States had fixed for the maintenance of friendly relations, and notifying the German Government that the United States could not "for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by Germany naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and non-combatants." "Responsibility in such matters," affirmed by the American note, "is single, not joint; absolute, not relative."

THUS THE GERMAN CRISIS WAS DISPOSED OF AND THE UNITED STATES WAS FREE AGAIN TO GIVE ATTENTION TO THE CONTROVERSY WITH THE OTHER BELLIGERENTS WHICH HAD BEEN HELD IN ABEYANCE IN THE PERIOD WHEN AN ACTUAL RUPTURE WITH GERMANY WAS LOOKED UPON AS AN IMMINENT POSSIBILITY. Secretary of State Lansing let it be known, however, that the argumentative part of the German note had made it very difficult for him to continue the negotiations with Great Britain.

One of the most vexatious practices which Great Britain and France had indulged in with respect of neutral intercourse was her interference with neutral mails. The two Governments had adopted the custom of removing and censoring the mails aboard the neutral ships which she took into her ports for inspection. This matter had been dealt with in a note sent to London January 4, 1916, and on May 24 the State Department sent a more complete communication which made a full statement of the violations of international law and the damage inflicted upon American citizens involved in the policy of the Allies. The note reflected the sharp resentment and suspicion of the policy which was felt in the United States.

The note stated that Great Britain's continued offense had led "to such losses to American citizens and to a possible responsibility of the United States to repair them, that this

TRUE AIM OF NEUTRALITY.

NEUTRALITY is a negative word. It is a word that does not express what America ought to feel. America has a heart and that heart throbs with all sorts of intense sympathies, but America has schooled its heart to love the things that America believes in and it ought to devote itself only to the things that America believes in; and, believing that America stands apart in its ideals it ought not to allow itself to be drawn, so far as its heart is concerned, into anybody's quarrel. Not because it does not understand the quarrel, not because it does not in its head assess the merits of the controversy, but because America has promised the world to stand apart and maintain certain principles of action which are grounded in law and in justice. We are not trying to keep out of trouble; we are trying to preserve the foundations upon which peace can be rebuilt. Peace can be rebuilt only upon the ancient and accepted principles of international law, only upon those things which remind nations of their duties to each other, and, deeper than that, of their duties to mankind and to humanity.—President Wilson's Address to the D. A. R. in Washington, October 11, 1915.

Government will be compelled in the near future to press claims for full reclamation upon the attention of his Majesty's Government and of the French Republic." The United States gave notice that it expected the questionable practices of the British and French authorities in the treatment of mails to be discontinued.

In the period when the United States had been so engrossed in the possibilities of the German submarine policy, numerous interchanges had been made between this Government and Great Britain regarding the commerce policy of the Allies. October 21, 1915, the United States had sent an extremely long and forceful note impugning the legality of the British blockade on the ground that it violated the principle of international law which forbids the blockade of neutral ports in time of war, as well as the declaration of Paris, which expressly declares that "blockades, in order to be binding, must be effected; that is to say, maintained by forces sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy." Great Britain's practice of seizing vessels at sea upon "conjectural suspicion" was contrasted with the provisions of international law defining the right to visit and search. The statement was made that "unwarranted delay and expense in bringing vessels into port for search and investigation upon mere suspicion has had a deterrent effect upon trade ventures, however lawful they may be, which cannot be adequately measured in damages." The United States informed Great Britain that it would not advise its citizens to seek redress before British prize courts which, in the opinion of the United States, "are unauthorized by the unrestricted application of international law to grant reparation."

January 19, 1916, the United States received notification of the adoption of the British Trading with the Enemy Act, which permitted the British Government to prohibit all British citizens or corporations from carrying on business with persons in foreign countries wherever such procedure might seem wise. The United States protested, on January 25, that the act had been framed without a proper regard for the rights of persons living within the United States, and expressing grave apprehensions at future results of the application of the new war measure. Notice was given of the purpose of this Government "to contest the legality or rightfulness of imposing restrictions upon the freedom of American trade" in the manner authorized by the Trading with the Enemy Act.

In a note which reached the State Department in February, the British Government described the act as "a piece of purely domestic legislation," and admitted "the right of persons of any nationality resident in the United States to engage in legitimate commercial transactions with any other persons." The Trading with the Enemy Act was utilized later as authority for the blacklisting of 87 American firms, and for excluding them from commerce with Great Britain and her allies. The blacklist was not published until July, however. The United States entered a prompt and vigorous protest against this blacklist.

EMBARGO ON MUNITIONS.

The suggestion that an embargo be laid on munitions exportations to the Allies in reprisal for Great Britain's restraint of American commerce was widely discussed in the United States both before and after the launching of the German submarine campaign. The manifest difficulties in the way of such a policy, however, deterred the great majority of our citizens from viewing it with favor. In the first place, it probably would have been necessary to amend the Constitution in order to levy an embargo, and, in the second place, it would have been extremely difficult to take recourse to such measures of reprisals without working severe hardships on American industries, as was demonstrated in the early days of our national history.

DIFFERENCES WITH AUSTRIA.

The manufacturer of arms or of other munitions of war might very properly have asked why the embargo was not placed on wheat or other foodstuffs. He could have defended his position by the statement that the Allies were benefiting in a military sense just as much from their importations of foodstuffs as from their importations of arms or gunpowder. The intricacies and perplexities of the problem, to say nothing of the fact that the Teutonic belligerents alone would have been benefited by such a measure, which would therefore have been unneutral, were more than sufficient to prevent President Wilson from resorting to such a policy. It would have involved taking sides to a greater extent than the President thought consistent with the American policy of neutrality and at the same time would have established dangerous precedents which might have been invoked against the United States in the event of American participation in future wars.

The latter point was driven home with great forcefulness in a note sent by the State Department to the Austrian Government in August, 1915, in response to a plea for the suppression of the trade in war contraband between the United States and the Allies. The American Government in that note pointed out that democratic governments opposed to mili-

WHAT IS TRUE VALOR?

I WOULD BE JUST AS MUCH ASHAMED TO BE RASH AS I WOULD TO BE A COWARD. VALOR IS SELF-RESPECTING. VALOR IS CIRCUMSPECT. VALOR STRIKES ONLY WHEN IT IS RIGHT TO STRIKE. VALOR WITHHOLDS ITSELF FROM ALL SMALL IMPLICATIONS AND ENTANGLEMENTS AND WAITS FOR THE GREAT OPPORTUNITY WHEN THE SWORD WILL FLASH AS IF IT CARRIED THE LIGHT OF HEAVEN UPON ITS BLADE.—From President Wilson's Address at Gridiron Club Dinner, February 26, 1916.

tarism and the maintenance of great war machines in times of peace must perforce maintain their right to unlimited importations of munitions in time of war. Only by this means, it was said, could such governments avoid the necessity for great expenditures on accumulations of munitions.

America's differences with Germany's ally, Austria-Hungary, have had various phases. The first serious one arose September 8, 1915, when this Government felt constrained to ask for the recall of the Austro-Hungarian ambassador at Washington, on the ground that he had proposed to his Government plans to institute strikes in American munitions plants, and that he had improperly employed an American citizen, James F. J. Archibald, to convey communications to the Austrian Government relating to these plans. November 7 an Austro-Hungarian submarine brutally shelled the passenger ship "Ancona" in the Mediterranean after the vessel had halted in response to a summons from the submarine. The United States demanded that the act be denounced, that the officer responsible be punished, and that indemnity be paid for the Americans who were killed or injured. Austria-Hungary made objections to these demands in a note dated December 15, 1915, but in the face of a strict insistence on the part of the United States, conceded all of the demands on December 29. A demand that Austria-Hungary apologize and make financial reparation for an attack upon the old tank "Petrolite" is pending as this article is being written.

GREAT FRENCHMAN'S PRAISE.

Unqualified admiration of President Wilson's message to Berlin on the submarine issue (Sussex note) was expressed by Georges Clemenceau in his newspaper, *L'Homme Libre*, April 22, 1916. M. Clemenceau says:

"What strikes one above all in this piece of world diplomacy which the Chief of the American Republic has submitted to the National representatives is its fine, impassive objectivity, neither complaints nor recrimination. Facts, no signs of literature, contrary to what we have seen in the case of other countries; nothing, too, of the learned lawyer by happy surprise. Simple, strong words of a statesman.

"The right, the august imprescriptible right, which the Pilgrim Fathers of the Mayflower brought from Europe their sons are bringing back to us under a shield of iron forged by their own strong hands.

"Hail to you, American citizens, who march back into the history of Europe under a great arch on the front of which Washington, Jefferson and so many others have carved the noblest claims of humanity.

"What the Kaiser may decide to do is unimportant. Withdrawal or bombast—it will be all the same in the end."

WILSON UPHELD BY GERMAN STATESMAN

Dr. Bernhard Dernberg Tells German People of President Wilson's Firmness and High Motives

ON the first page of the Tageblatt Dr. Bernhard Dernberg published an article in which he gave full recognition of the motives inspiring the American policy in the submarine controversy, and speaks of German's "wise giving in" in the Arabic case.

"PRESIDENT WILSON'S POLICY TOWARD GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN WAS INSPIRED," SAID DR. DERNBERG, "BY A DETERMINATION TO FORCE THE BELLIGERENTS TO RESPECT THE ANTI-BELLUM PRINCIPLES OF MARITIME LAW, particularly as laid down in the declaration of London, and to regard alterations by belligerents without the consent of the United States and other neutrals as unbinding. America came into conflict both with Germany and Great Britain over these questions.

"The submarine question had first to be settled, because this act was not a question, as in Great Britain's commercial war with Germany, of replaceable wares or financial losses, but of the lives of American citizens. The differences with Great Britain therefore were postponed until a way had been cleared through Germany's wise giving in in the Arabic case."

After stating in answer to the German press that the United States would enforce her demands at all costs, he says:

"IT SOMETIMES HAS TAKEN RATHER LONG—THE ALABAMA CASE TOOK FIFTEEN YEARS—BUT HERE INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE WHICH DO NOT PERMIT OF DELAY, AND, HOWEVER UNWILLING THE PRESIDENT IS TO MAKE DIFFICULTIES FOR GREAT BRITAIN (OR GERMANY EITHER), HE HAS, AS HAS RECENTLY BEEN SAID, A SINGLE TRACK MIND IN WHICH THERE IS NEITHER TURNING OUT OR GOING BACK."

FOR vainglory or for selfish purpose, others may cry up a policy of blood and iron, but the President of the United States has acted on the belief that the leader of a nation who plunges his people into an unnecessary war, like Pontius Pilate, vainly washes his hands of innocent blood while the earth quakes and the heavens are darkened and thousands give up the ghost.

—From Martin H. Glynn's keynote speech.

NEUTRALITY is the policy which has kept us at peace while Europe has been driving nails of war through the hands and feet of crucified humanity.

—From Martin H. Glynn's keynote speech.

GERMAN "PROGRESSIVE" LAUDS WOODROW WILSON

Remarkable Articles By Maximilian Harden, Famous Berlin Jour- nalist and Publicist

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN, "the most feared and most powerful publicist in the German Empire," in two issues of his newspaper, *Die Zukunft*, last April, extolled Woodrow Wilson as one of the greatest men of his time and defended the American policy towards Germany as to munitions exports and the submarine negotiations.

The first of these, dated April 22, was entitled "If I Were Wilson." It was in the form of an imaginary message to the German people from President Wilson. In this way Harden gave forceful expression to his own views.

Following are some quotations:

"I demand that Germany publicly dissociate herself from every comment by foolish patriots who misuse our hospitality to upset civil peace.

"I demand that Germany shall, without reserve, protect the life and property of American citizens at sea. She can protect them, for no longer may the question of the future of two great peoples—whether they shall live in friendship or enmity—depend upon the whim or nerve of a young submarine commander who wishes to serve the Fatherland and who only listens to his conscience when it says 'Down with everything I can catch.'"

The second article was a editorial exposition of President Wilson's public character and policies.

"He certainly is a man of high moral and intellectual rank," this Article said. "A man of whom we might be proud, if he were one of ours. * * *

"WILSON, THE TEACHER OF POLITICAL LAW WHO NOW SPEAKS IN THE NAME OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STANDS UPON THE CONVICTION THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT FROM MARCH, 1915, THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT WOULD TREAT THE WATERS AROUND GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AS BEING IN THE WAR ZONE WAS A GROSS DENIAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW; THAT THE PREMEDITATED METHOD OF THE GERMAN SUBMARINE WARFARE IS NOT COMPATIBLE WITH THE BASIC LAWS OF HUMANITY; THAT THIS METHOD WHICH, WITHOUT THE FLIMSIEST LEGAL JUSTIFICATION, WITHOUT A TWINGE OF CONSCIENCE, DESTROYS MIGHTY OCEAN LINES AND UNARMED PASSENGER SHIPS, AND HAS COST

THE LIVES OF HUNDREDS OF PEACEFUL AMERICANS, WANTONLY SMASHES TO BITS THE UNDENIABLE RIGHTS OF NEUTRALS AND THE SACRED PRIVILEGES OF ALL THOSE NOT ENGAGED IN THE WAR; THAT THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT, WHOSE UPRIGHTNESS AND GOOD FAITH ARE NOT PUT IN DOUBT, NEITHER HAS SUCCEEDED NOR EVER WILL SUCCEED IN RECONCILING ITS METHODS WITH THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF HUMANITY.

"And as every promise of caution by Germany has been followed by an act by a submarine sharply contradicting it, the Government of the United States, that has been patient so long because it feels a genuine friendship for the people and rulers of Germany, must break off diplomatic relations with the Imperial Government unless the methods of submarine warfare are immediately given up, passenger and freight ships not armed for attack are spared, and the rules of humanity, of international law, and of the rights of neutrals are again put into effect.

"These are the principal contents of the note that the American Ambassador laid before the State Secretary of our Foreign Office on the evening of April 20. Dare we treat the complaint of a great, free people radiating the strength of youth and represented by a man of the importance and stamp of Wilson, according to the rules of a students' row? Shall we haggle over words, refuse to stand for the 'entirely impertinent' tone, and use it as a pretext for refusing to answer?

G. O. P. TRIBUTE.

COL. ROOSEVELT SAYS PRESIDENT WILSON INVITES WAR BY HIS TIMID POLICY, BUT THERE ARE MANY, VERY MANY, PEOPLE WHO THINK THAT HE INVITES PEACE BY HIS CAUTIOUS AND CONSIDERATE POLICY. IF THESE PEOPLE WERE NOT IN A MAJORITY WE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE HAD A WAR LONG AGO. THE PRESIDENT IS CONSULTING THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE AND HE FINDS THEY ARE IN PERFECT ACCORD WITH HIS OWN VIEWS. IT IS FORTUNATE WE HAVE THAT KIND OF PRESIDENT IN THESE PERILOUS TIMES.

THE ORDINARY ISSUES OF POLITICS DON'T FIGURE THESE DAYS, AND THE PARAMOUNT OBJECT IS TO KEEP THE COUNTRY OUT OF WAR IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO DO SO. THUS FAR THE PRESIDENT HAS FOUND IT POSSIBLE, AND THE UNIVERSAL PRAYER IS THAT HE WILL KEEP IT UP. WHEN THIS COUNTRY GOES TO WAR IT WANTS TO DO SO FOR SOME REAL REASON AND NOT ON FRIVOLOUS AND CAPRICIOUS GROUNDS. THIS REPUBLIC IS TOO GREAT TO BE TOUCHY AND BOASTFUL.—From the Columbus (O.) State Journal (Repn.).

ALL PRAISE TRIUMPH IN LUSITANIA CASE

Republican Are With Democratic Newspapers in Proclaiming Wilson's Great Diplo- matic Victory

CHICAGO TRIBUNE (Rep.), September 2, 1915:

President Wilson's bold stroke in diplomacy has found its certain mark. He has stood unwaveringly for the best that is recognized in American ideals, and, for reasons that might be considered and weighed without important result, has succeeded in imposing the will of the American people upon the German people. * * * President Wilson has had the fortune of making his uncompromising policy stand. It is an extraordinary triumph not only for the American nation but for him personally. * * * Results count, and in this case the President has all the results on his side. * * * The President's attitude undoubtedly conformed to the average American's idea of National importance, and the result coincides with that estimate. * * * The critics of Mr. Wilson's scheme merely bow to and acclaim the fact that he has arrived at the desired end without use of the methods which they thought necessary. * * * The result was the test. He has met that test. * * *

NEW YORK EVENING POST (Ind.), Sept. 2, 1915:

Every true American, from Maine to California, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, will welcome with pride and delight the triumph of a statesmanship at once firm and calm, of a patriotism at once unyielding and without bluster, which this announcement presages. What is actually embodied in Count Bernstorff's assurance is so far beyond what only a short time ago seemed possible that there need be no hesitation in rejoicing over a splendid achievement of reason, justice and good will.

NEW YORK TRIBUNE (Rep.), Sept. 2, 1915:

There seems now no reason to doubt that the crisis in our relations with Germany has passed. The note of Count von Bernstorff to Mr. Lansing patently furnishes satisfying evidence of the change in the German submarine policy.

So far as it is possible to judge, and there can be no desire to minimize the value of the Ambassador's words, Germany now accepts the principle which has been the point of departure of American diplomacy, that submarines shall exercise the right of visit and search before attacking passenger ships.

In a word, Germany has consented to live within the law, which is all that the United States has ever asked.

BROOKLYN CITIZEN (Dem.), September 2, 1915:

* * * The Administration is therefore entitled to all the congratulations it is now receiving for having insisted upon respect for a doctrine which, in addition to being of great importance to the country, is also a safe-

guard for all civilized intercourse, as against the mere unbridled violence of war. What no fair-minded person will think of denying is that President Wilson has shown extraordinary skill and firmness in vindicating the rights of Americans without having to appeal to arms. This may fairly be said to be one of the cases in which Richelieu's familiar maxim is borne out by the event: "IN THE HANDS OF MEN ENTIRELY GREAT THE PEN IS MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD."

PITTSBURG GAZETTE-TIMES (Rep.), Sept. 2, 1915:

Germany having admitted the legitimacy of our demands that merchant ships must be warned before attack by submarines or other hostile craft and due provision made for the safety of all on board, where does this leave those loud-voiced members of our home guard, who have been consistently virulent critics of their country's course? There have been three classes of the critics: First, the out and out pro-Germans, who in any dispute hastened to give the benefit of the doubt to the fatherland; second, the jingoes, who howled for war without waiting for the aggressor to explain or justify or offer disavowal or reparation, and, third, the peace at any price folk, who wanted President Wilson to back down for fear he might plunge the nation into war. Now, by Germany's action all three classes have been thoroughly discredited.

KANSAS CITY STAR (Ind.), Sept. 2, 1915:

The great service that Mr. Wilson will have rendered to the American people is doubly enhanced by the fact that it was a service performed for all humanity, in the name of humanity. The highest ideals, not only of the American Republic but of civilization, were contended for by the American President. They have been conceded, as it now appears, by the Imperial Government.

MILWAUKEE SENTINEL (Rep.), Sept. 2, 1915:

President Wilson has scored a great diplomatic success to which his countrymen, without distinction of party, will not fail to do justice.

NEW YORK COMMERCIAL (Ind.), Sept. 2, 1915:

In spite of Col. Roosevelt and other beaters of the war drums who have been attacking the policy pursued by President Wilson, the German Government did not doubt that he meant what he said in his last note regarding "deliberately unfriendly" acts.

NEW YORK EVENING GLOBE (Ind.), Sept. 2, 1915:

The country is under great obligation to President Wilson for the skill, patience and firmness he has displayed in the handling of this difficult business. It is not only peace that has been won but peace with honor. Every American may be pardoned feeling a little increase in inner stature as he views with pride the fact that this nation, by standing for its own rights, has added a little in these trying times to the heritage of mankind.

BROOKLYN TIMES (Ind.), Sept. 2, 1915:

The bulk of the Nation, the peaceful, unbiased, loyal Americans that people this prospering land are happy today. They are filled with gratitude that the President found the right way to bring about the right result; and they rejoice that American blood will not be spilled before the mad military rulers of Europe see the light that will guide their countries to peace.

WATERBURY, MASS., REPUBLICAN (Rep.), Aug. 30, 1915:

President Wilson has won a notable victory in the submarine controversy. * * * How ill-timed, in the face of this, Mr. Roosevelt's tirade at Plattsburg will seem! The Wilson policy has prevailed just at the time when the ex-President was calling for action instead of elocution. All that remains of the Colonel's argument is the insistence that it was our duty to go to war to protect the neutrality of Belgium—preposterous as that would have been as a *casus belli* for a Western power.

NEW YORK SUN (Rep.), Sept. 2, 1915:

The United States has won a great diplomatic victory in the square acceptance by Germany of those principles concerning neutral rights on the high seas for which our State Department has been contending. * * * President Wilson has succeeded in this controversy in preserving the people peace with full honor.

NEW YORK TIMES (Ind.), Sept. 2, 1915:

President Wilson is in a position to say with the fervor of full conviction that "truth is mighty and will prevail." The great diplomatic triumph which, with the able and fortunate assistance of Secretary Lansing, he has achieved in the long controversy with Germany is one which the world will award him great credit, but it is a victory as well of truth and of the "many sacred principles of justice and humanity" for which the various notes dispatched to Berlin he has contended with so much firmness and ability. * * *

PITTSBURG POST (Dem.), Sept. 2, 1915:

* * * Mr. Roosevelt's announced way would have been "without twenty-four hours' delay," following the sinking of the *Lusitania*, to have shut off all commerce with Germany and to have favored their enemies by redoubling shipments to them. His way might have cost millions of American lives and billions of money, and victory for us would have been no more complete. It is things like these that cause the people time and again to thank God that Woodrow Wilson is President in this war period instead of Theodore Roosevelt.

HARTFORD POST (Ind.), Sept. 2, 1915:

President Wilson to-day should be the happiest man in the world. A tremendous burden of anxiety has been lifted from his mind by the cordial and complete compliance of the German government with the demand of the United States for the maintenance of the rights of neutrals at sea in time of war.

Those of his fellow citizens, if any there were, who felt that he had been too exigent in his attitude toward the Germans in regard to their submarine warfare, now realize their error and those who so virulently charged him with lack of courage and of tact, are to-day utterly confounded and ridiculous. * * *

HARTFORD TIMES (Ind.), Sept. 2, 1915:

* * * The right has been established by the splendidly simple process of seeing aright, acting aright and insistence, as uncompromising as it has been unbellicose, upon right conduct.

WILSON AND HUGHES AS LEADERS

(From the New York World.)

Mr. Hughes was Governor of New York from January 1, 1907, until October 6, 1910, a period of three years, nine months and six days. •

Mr. Wilson has been President of the United States since March 4, 1913, a period of three years, four months and seventeen days.

There are few more striking contrasts in politics than the record of accomplishment made by Mr. Wilson as President and by Mr. Hughes as Governor.

When Mr. Hughes abandoned the fight for popular government in this State, resigned his office and accepted an appointment to the bench of the United States Supreme Court, he had brought about the enactment of only one important measure—the Public-Service Commission Act. Aside from the Race-Track Law, that was his one achievement, and this was largely offset by a complete demoralization of State finances which still continues.

Most of Mr. Hughes's energies as Governor were expended in factional warfare with the Republican leaders who had nominated him for their own purposes but who had no intention of allowing him to dictate the policies of the party. In spite of his excellent motives and splendid efforts, Mr. Hughes could not control the Republican organization; he could not influence the Legislature, and he was compelled in the end to let other men win the battle that he had so resolutely begun.

The Republican Party in the Nation is controlled to-day by the identical interests that controlled it when Mr. Hughes was Governor. Many of the bosses are the same bosses. The Wall Street partnership, the trust partnership, the special-privilege partnership, are all in full force now as they were then. The National Republican organization is just as progressive as William Barnes and his New York cohorts were during the Hughes Administration and just as eager for reform. Mr. Hughes as President would have to deal with the same kind of political and corporation influences that he had to deal with as Governor. He failed to subdue them when he was Governor. What reason is there for believing that he could subdue them as President?

MR. WILSON HAS PROVED THAT HE CAN LEAD HIS PARTY, AND HE HAS OBTAINED FROM IT THE MOST EXTRAORDINARY MEASURE OF PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION THAT ANY ADMINISTRATION HAS EVER WON. DAY BY DAY HE IS MAKING THE RECORD MORE REMARKABLE AND MORE BRILLIANT.

Does the country want four years more of constructive government, or four years of factional fighting between a Republican President and the Republican bosses?

CHARLES E. HUGHES— A COLOSSAL EVASION

Nominated By the Bosses to Dodge the Issues, He Plays the Game As Planned

WHAT political elements nominated Hughes and why?

For whom does his candidacy now stand and of what does it consist?

What could he do if elected President?

The meat of the case against Hughes lies in three questions and, briefly, the answers are:

1. Diverse and discordant political elements nominated Hughes as a mask for their divisions and inherent differences.

2. His candidacy now stands for these discordant groups and consists, therefore, of a Colossal Evasion

3. Hughes's divided backing is incapable even of substantial agreement, to say nothing of concerted action, upon domestic or international policies, and, if in power, could not unite upon a plan of constructive action. The Hughes candidacy can not deliver and hence does not promise performance of any consequential sort; it is impotent.

Hughes has no program.

* * *

The Republican party divided into two separate and distinct parts in 1912. These parts stood for separate and distinct sets of political measures, methods and principles. There were the reactionaries, the standpatters under the Old Guard Bosses, behind Taft. There were the progressives or forward-looking, forward-moving men, behind Roosevelt.

The revolt of the Progressives was directed against the Bossism which, in behalf of and financed by special interests of great power and resources, dictated, and often corrupted the system of making, political nominations; and then applied the same strong-arm methods to control elections. It was a revolt directed against a system and many manifestations of the system—tariff injustices, trust abuses, labor's inequality before the law, etc. Other points of difference were numerous but elaboration is unnecessary; surely every one remembers them. * * * Utterly defeated in the Chicago convention of 1912, confronted with Taft's nomination (stolen according to Progressives), the rebels withdrew from the Republican and formed the Progressive party.

At Baltimore in 1912 much the same fight was fought with in the Democratic Party and there a complete victory for

PUT UP OR SHUT UP!

President Wilson's Ringing Challenge to His Re- publican Critics

(President Wilson's Address Before American Electric Railway Association, Washington, D. C., January 29, 1915.)

ALL I ASK IS THAT IF ANYTHING IS BEING DONE THAT OUGHT NOT TO BE DONE, THE FAULT IN IT BE CONCLUSIVELY POINTED OUT AND THE WAY TO CORRECT THE MISTAKE BE EXPLICITLY SHOWN. THERE IS AN OLD RULE THAT OUGHT TO OBTAIN IN POLITICS AS IN EVERYTHING ELSE, AND IT IS EXPRESSED IN A VERY HOMELY WAY. IT IS THE RULE OF "PUT UP OR SHUT UP." SOME ONE SAID, "IF YOU WISH ME TO CONSIDER YOU WITTY, I MUST REALLY TROUBLE YOU TO MAKE A JOKE." IF YOU WISH ME TO CONSIDER YOU WISE, I MUST REALLY TROUBLE YOU TO SHOW THE CONCRETE PROOF; TO SHOW HOW THE THING CAN BE DONE; TO SHOW HOW IT CAN BE BETTER DONE. BECAUSE NOBODY IS FOOL ENOUGH TO SUPPOSE THAT THE WAY HE HAS DETERMINED THAT THE THING OUGHT TO BE DONE IS NECESSARILY THE BEST WAY TO DO IT. BUT IT IS THE BEST WAY TO DO IT UNTIL YOU SHOW A BETTER WAY.

clean politics and progressive government was won. Woodrow Wilson was nominated for President by Democratic progressives and became President.

The Text Book tells the story of the four-year interim with a wealth of fact and force. Supported by loyal, earnest, progressive Democratic majorities in House and Senate President Wilson put through the entire Democratic program and more, including practically all of the Progressive program. The Wilson Administration lived up to and made good upon the declarations of essential policy and principle made at Baltimore. The demands of progressives for an end of government by the system and for a responsive popular government have been in all large particulars met.

Quite obviously, therefore, the Republican Party, on convening once more at Chicago to choose another nominee for President, confronted a difficult task. There remained the Progressives without and progressives within its own organization; though the same Bosses, employing the same System, seeking the same ends, anxious to turn back the forward movement and undo the checks placed upon private control of government by Woodrow Wilson, still had control of the Republican Party and its delegates. For weeks in advance of the assembling of the convention, the boast was openly made by the Old Guard leaders that the delegates to Chicago were as fine a lot of professionally hand-picked men as ever had been gathered under one roof. Murray, Crane, Smoot, Penrose, Hemenway, Barnes, all these and their lesser henchmen were there either working brazenly in the open or with their batteries masked behind favorite son candidacies. Frank H. Hitchcock, active manager of the Taft steam-roller in 1912, was on hand, operating a brand new but nevertheless efficient Hughes machine. Any one who cares to examine the roster of the Chicago convention will discover that the Southern brother was mobilized in 1916 as in 1912, to do as he was told; that the big delegations from the Eastern and Middle West States were in reactionary hands; and that the outcome solely depended upon what the same old gang which stole the Taft nomination—and which stood then and stands now for a Central Bank, for a special-interest tariff, for self and pelf all along the mighty long line—might decide to do. * * *

The outcome was Hughes—why? It was a choice between Roosevelt or an out-and-out reactionary or Hughes. Chastened by four years exclusion from power, with a noisy Progressive convention in full blast a few blocks away, with the old and new issues yawning between the majority of their convention and the progressives (whether of large or small "p"), the Bosses were compelled to take serious counsel together.

The face of the general political situation had changed somewhat in the four years, but not the body. International questions had arisen, but international issues had merely added to the breadth and depth of the chasm between the two brands of Republicans. To have nominated Roosevelt would have been to declare for the domestic policies of the Progressives; for intervention in Mexico, and a pro-Ally, unneutral position in European affairs. The Bosses were neither ready nor willing to confess the crime of 1912; neither ready nor willing to indorse progressive principles and legislation; neither ready nor willing to defy the German-American Alliance. All these things they desired to avoid—and yet they dared not undertake another outright defiance of the Progressives.

So they took Hughes. They did it to get under cover

themselves and to hide the vital divisions upon domestic and international questions existing both within their party and between reactionary Republicans and Progressives. They took Hughes because his record during the all-important six-year period, 1910-16, was an absolute blank. They took Hughes because his record as Governor of New York indicated a conservative, even reactionary, mentality. But more especially they took Hughes in the hope of perpetrating a hoax upon the American people so gigantic that it compels admiration. In fine, they undertook to consolidate behind an enigma, (1) disloyalists active in the cause of the Teutonic Nations; (2) the extreme protagonists of the Allies; (3) the fervent advocates of progressive legislation and policies, and (4) the most bitter enemies of progressive legislation and policies.

* * *

Thus originated the candidacy of Charles Evans Hughes. Of what does it now consist?

It is precisely what was expected of it. It is a Colossal Evasion. Mr. Hughes is playing the game both ends against the middle and to the queen's taste, exactly as planned. As an intensely patriotic Republican newspaper has stated, Mr. Hughes' utterances upon Americanism have "exactly that degree of Vagueness" which enables disloyalists to support him as means of rebuking President Wilson's fearless enforcement of an honest neutrality. By the same token this newspaper should also have said, the same utterances have an additional quality of vagueness which enables unneutral extremists of the opposite sort, who are led or rather, deceived, by Roosevelt—who also are not neutral and who in fact hope and seek war with Germany—to support Hughes.

If Mr. Hughes intends to protest the violation of Belgium neutrality and to enforce the protest, should he be elected, he has not said so. If he favors an embargo on the export of war munitions, as desired by pro-German unneutral organizations, he has kept silent on the point. If Mr. Hughes rejects as inadequate the substantial victories won by President Wilson through diplomatic negotiation both with Great Britain and with Germany, his lips are still sealed on the subject. If Mr. Hughes disagrees with Chief Justice White, his former colleague and senior upon the United States Supreme Court, in declaring the outcome of the submarine negotiations the most notable diplomatic achievement of modern history, he has not dropped a hint to the public upon the matter. If he favors universal compulsory military service, so essential a feature of Colonel Roosevelt's present-day political gospel, no one knows it.

To pursue this catechism into domestic matters would involve duplication of other articles in the Text Book. Take the Record of Achievement, item by item, and search the pages of Hughes's speeches and you find profound silence upon every great constructive measure contained therein. If Mr. Hughes stands with the Progressives and

progressive Republicans who voted with the Democrats for Woodrow Wilson's constructive legislative program, or with the reactionaries who voted against these remedial laws, he has carefully avoided indicating even a leaning either way.

* * *

As to what Mr. Hughes could do if elected, answer has already been given in part. That elements or factions so diverse and antagonistic as those which the Hughes candidacy seeks to assemble under the Republican name could act together, not only is beyond belief, but has been time and again disproven by their failure to act together.

Events since the Chicago convention have shown that a great many*of the 1912 Progressives refuse to accept The Colossal Evasion; that a large percentage of them, perhaps a major percentage, reject Hughes and will vote for Wilson; but it may be that many others, believing Hughes to be progressive, will vote for him and count upon him to support progressive measures and adopt progressive policies should he be elected. Assume for the moment an extremely improbable thing—that the confidence of the latter progressive element is well placed—then to what extent could Hughes live up in the Presidency to such expectations?

Upon every important vote in Congress involving either domestic or international affairs during the last three years and a half, the Republicans have divided. One group, the minority, has joined the Democratic and Progressive congressmen in support of Woodrow Wilson's progressive measures. THE OTHER GROUP, CONSISTING OF THE MAJORITY OF THE REPUBLICAN REPRESENTATION IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE, HAS PERSEVERED IN THE SAME DOGGED OPPOSITION TO WHOLE-SOME CHANGE WHICH CHARACTERIZED THEIR COURSE UNDER TAFT AND WHICH CAUSED THE SMASHUP OF 1912. (Perusal is invited of the analysis of the votes of Republican and Progressive Congressmen and of the article upon Congress which appear elsewhere in the Text Book.)

The reactionaries have opposed the creation of all the new agencies of public service established under Woodrow Wilson and may be relied on to attempt to hamstring and in some instances to destroy them, if they get control of Congress. If Mr. Hughes should prove progressive, he would endeavor to prevent such a catastrophe and would seek in every possible way to expand the facilities and increase the utility of these great public service enterprises. But he would be helpless without the support of Congress and, in domestic affairs, what could he accomplish of a progressive nature through his party's following in Congress? It is much the same as to foreign affairs; it will be remembered, 101 Republicans in the House voted to yield control of American foreign policy to the German-American Alliance in the vote

on the McLemore resolution, while 87 Republicans voted to sustain President Wilson's fight for the maintenance of American rights on the high seas.

Whatever Hughes might attempt to do as President, whether with relation to foreign or domestic affairs, he would confront the same hopeless situation. If he should go with the genuine progressives, would the Smoot-Penrose-Gallinger-Cannon-Mann-Fordney aggregation meekly follow? If he should join the reactionary and, in Republican affairs, more powerful group, then what would the progressives do about it?

As President, Hughes could not go forward or backward.

OLD BANKING SYSTEM FAVORED THE STRONG

By Edward A. Filene of Boston.

(Mr. Filene is one of the foremost Merchants of the United States; a former vice-president of the International Chamber of Commerce, a former director of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, and now a director and an influential figure in the United States Chamber of Commerce.)

"In the past, when financial crises came, as come they must until we are all far wiser than we now are, the available money which is the salvation of the business men in such times, went to those of us biggest business men who were the power behind the banks.

"It may seem rather a dry, abstract subject to the average man, but the fact that to-day any small business man can get the needed credit for money under any conceivable financial stress is of the utmost importance not only to the hundreds of thousands of small business men and their families, but also their employees and the whole country at large. This last fact is to be especially borne in mind because the regular cutting out of the small business men which has taken place at frequent intervals, until Mr. Wilson and the Democrats put through the new currency legislation, has resulted not only in enormous financial losses to the small men but in enormously diminishing the hopes and ambitions of such men. This process also has stopped the general business progress of the country."

THE HUGHES VETOES

Equal Pay for Teachers, Income Tax, and Other Progressive Measures Turned Down

On May 29, 1907, the bill providing for equal pay for teachers without regard to sex first came before Governor Charles E. Hughes of New York. The measure had passed both houses of the General Assembly, and the women teachers, led by Miss Helen Strachan, of Brooklyn, had worked long and waited patiently for it to become a law. About 14,000 women teachers in Greater New York would have reaped material gain, but Governor Hughes vetoed the bill. In transmitting his veto to the General Assembly, Governor Hughes, wrote the following in a special message:

"It is proposed by legislative enactment to establish the proposition that for the work of a given position women shall receive equal pay with men. * * * But, it is manifest that the principle is one of general application and it should not be adopted by the state unless the state is prepared to apply it generally. The question is necessarily one of state policy, and as such it should be presented and debated before action is taken."

The fight was continued until Governor Dix, Democrat, became Governor and he signed the bill. By this measure all teachers, male and female, started with \$720 a year pay, while under the old law men started with \$900 and women with \$600.

INCOME TAX.

While Mr. Hughes was Governor of New York the Federal amendment to the constitution providing for a national income tax came to the Legislature for ratification.

Governor Hughes sent a message to the Legislature which killed the income tax amendment. New York State went on record as opposed to having large incomes taxed to help defray the expenses of the national government.

A storm of criticism of Governor Hughes' position with regard to the income tax swept over the entire country. Senator Norris Brown, of Nebraska, who had fathered the income tax measure in the upper house said he could not see why Congress should not have the power to tax all incomes as emergencies arise.

Senator Borah, Republican Senator from Idaho, said that Governor Hughes was in error. He did not believe state and municipal bonds would ever be taxed under the amendment. "It is a narrow and technical objection," said Governor Hadley, of Missouri. Less than a year later, under a Democratic Governor and Legislature, New York ratified the income tax amendment. (See article on income tax.)

CONEY ISLAND NICKEL FARE.

The Coney Island five-cent fare bill passed the New York State Legislature with only nine votes, all in the Senate, against it. Yet the bill was vetoed by Governor Hughes.

Coney Island is the out-of-doors recreation resort for the millions of New York City's middle class and poor. Reduction of the one-way fare from ten to five cents would have been a boon to many hundreds of thousands of people.

"It is idle to suppose the companies can be compelled to reduce their fares to five cents merely because the Legislature says so," said Governor Hughes in his message to the Legislature.

2-CENT A MILE BILL.

While Hughes was Governor, a bill was introduced and passed providing for a two cent a mile rate for passengers on all railroads in New York State not less than one hundred and fifty miles long. Governor Hughes vetoed it.

FULL CREW BILL.

Assemblyman Baldwin introduced what became known as the "Full Crew Bill," which was passed and sent up to the Governor. Mr. Hughes returned it to the Assembly without his approval. The measure provided for a full crew of six persons on all freight trains of more than twenty cars on railroads which ran more than four freight trains daily out of their terminals.

EXTRAVAGANT APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. Hughes gave New York the most extravagant State Administration it had ever known. During the four years previous to Mr. Hughes the total appropriations made by the Legislature and signed by the Governor aggregated \$112,318,126.15. During the four years of Mr. Hughes the total appropriations made by the Legislature and signed by the Governor aggregated \$150,393,066.53. This was an increase of \$38,074,940.38.

JAMES R. MANN AS A PROPHET.

In 1912, James R. Mann, Republican leader of the House of Representatives, predicted on the floor of the House that Democratic administration "would mean cutting off the profits and cutting down the wages; would mean strikes and riots and starvation and hell for the wage-earner and his family, destruction for the manufacturer and damnation for the home industry."

THE EXAMPLE OF AMERICA MUST BE THE EXAMPLE NOT MERELY OF PEACE BECAUSE IT WILL NOT FIGHT, BUT OF PEACE BECAUSE PEACE IS THE HEALING AND ELEVATING INFLUENCE OF THE WORLD AND STRIFE IS NOT.—Woodrow Wilson.

PROGRESSIVE POLICIES ENACTED INTO LAW

Wilson and Democracy Make A Record Every True Progressive Can and Must Approve

THEODORE ROOSEVELT characterized the Progressive platform of 1912 as the greatest political document written since the days of Abraham Lincoln. Those Progressives who agree with him in that characterization will have difficulty in voting against Woodrow Wilson, who has carried most of its principles into practice; just as they will have difficulty in voting for Mr. Hughes, who has opposed most of those same principles.

If the Progressive Party had won in 1912, if it had elected the President and gained control of both houses of Congress, would it have been justified in going before the country for an endorsement if it had been able to say: "Here is the platform we adopted in 1912 containing our promises, and here is the legislative and administrative work we have done, which redeems ninety per cent. of those platform promises"?

Would not every Progressive proudly demand the recognition due to such work of performance?

The Progressives did not win in 1912, but the Democrats did. And not only have they carried out the pledges of their own platform, but they have done something more of great interest to every Progressive. **THEY HAVE CARRIED OUT MOST OF THE PLEDGES OF THE PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM AS WELL.**

DEMOCRATIC PERFORMANCE.

The Progressives demanded the downward revision of the Payne-Aldrich tariff act and the establishment of a non-partisan tariff commission. **THE DEMOCRATS HAVE GIVEN THEM WHAT THEY WANTED.**

The Progressives demanded the defeat of the Aldrich currency bill and the establishment of a new currency system under governmental control. **THE DEMOCRATS HAVE GIVEN THEM WHAT THEY WANTED.**

The Progressives demanded the creation of a Federal Trade Commission; **AND THE DEMOCRATS HAVE GIVEN IT TO THEM.**

The Progressives demanded that the Interstate Commerce Commission be given the power to value the physical property of the railroads and that the Commerce Court be abolished. **THE DEMOCRATS HAVE DONE BOTH THINGS.**

The Progressives demanded an income tax. **THE DEMOCRATS GAVE THEM AN INCOME TAX.**

The Progressives demanded an inheritance tax, AND THE DEMOCRATS IN THE LAST REVENUE BILL ESTABLISHED AN INHERITANCE TAX.

The Progressives demanded the construction of a government-owned railroad in Alaska, AND THE DEMOCRATS ARE BUILDING IT.

The Progressives demanded federal aid for the building of good roads, AND PRESIDENT WILSON HAS SIGNED A LAW FOR THAT PURPOSE PASSED BY A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS.

The Progressives demanded some things, the recall of judicial decisions, for instance, which the Democrats have not seen fit to carry into effect. BUT PRACTICALLY ALL OTHER DEMANDS, INCLUDING THOSE FOR "SOCIAL JUSTICE," ARE EITHER UPON THE STATUTE BOOKS, OR ARE IN PROCESS OF PASSING THROUGH CONGRESS, OR HAVE BEEN PLEDGED IN THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1916, ADOPTED AT ST. LOUIS.

The record is so truly remarkable that it is worth while to go into the facts in a little more detail, in order that one may see that the Democratic party is indeed the party of progress which so many voters hoped to find in the Progressive party of such unhappy history.

The best way to determine what the Wilson administration and the Democratic Congress have done to merit Progressive confidence and support is to take the Progressive platform and check it up, plank by plank, with the record of the past four years.

PLANK BY PLANK.

The Progressives demanded a stronger anti-trust law and Federal regulation of interstate corporations, namely, an "administrative commission of high standing which shall maintain permanent, active supervision over industrial corporations—doing for them what the government now does—for the railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission."

The Wilson administration has carried out this Progressive demand, first, by the enactment of the Clayton Anti-Trust act, and second, by the organization of the Federal Trade Commission, which is provided precisely with the functions outlined in the Progressive platform. Under this provision, the Federal Trade Commission, organized on a non-partisan basis and equipped with high-class experts, exercises administrative supervision over industrial corporations capitalized to-day at something like \$30,000,000,000.

"The establishment of a non-partisan scientific tariff commission," as demanded by the Progressive platform, is one of the features of the new revenue bill; and the Tariff Commission itself will doubtless be engaged in its vital work in time to receive public approval at the polls in November.

In answer to the Progressive indictment—"We condemn the Payne-Aldrich bill as unjust to the people"—the Democratic Congress promptly effected its repeal.

Answering the Progressive demand for "an immediate

downward revision of those schedules wherein duties are shown to be unjust or excessive," the average duty on dutiable goods has been reduced by the Underwood tariff to about 32 per cent. as compared with 42 per cent. under the Payne-Aldrich tariff.

In harmony with the Progressive principle, as proclaimed in the platform, that "the benefit of any tariff should be disclosed in the pay envelope of the laborer"—wage increases under the new Democratic tariff during the past 12 months, affecting not less than 5,000,000 workmen in every branch of American industry, will approximate 15 per cent. to 20 per cent. higher than the Payne-Aldrich level.

The Progressives demanded the defeat of the proposed Aldrich currency bill, declaring that "the control should be lodged with the government and should be PROTECTED FROM DOMINATION OR MANIPULATION BY WALL STREET OR any special interests."

CURRENCY REFORM.

This Progressive demand is substantially and completely satisfied, even beyond the dreams of the Progressive platform makers, by the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act and complete government control of national banking under the supervision of the Federal Reserve Board. Under this Wilson achievement, both Wall Street domination and the possibility of panics has been made a thing of the Republican past, and the banking deposits and resources of the country augmented by upwards of \$3,000,000,000 in two years' time.

The demand of Progressives and Democrats alike for an adequate system of rural credits, has at last been realized, and the new Federal Land Bank system with Federal supervision over co-operative agricultural units to be located eventually in every farming community in America, wherever farmers may be found who need capital at minimum rates for agricultural development—will doubtless be ready to enter upon its great mission of financing the American farmer before another seed time.

THE VAST PROGRAM OF AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION INAUGURATED BY CONGRESS UNDER THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION—WHICH IS LOOKED UPON BY MANY AS SECOND ONLY IN IMPORTANCE TO THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM IN FAR-REACHING RESULTS—IS LIKEWISE A PRACTICAL AND THOROUGHLY WORKED OUT CONSUMMATION OF ONE OF THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE 1912 PROGRESSIVES.

The establishment of a graduated income tax which the Progressives supported in 1912, following Democratic precedent of 20 years, is a conspicuous feature of the Wilson administration.

Mr. Hughes, the presidential nominee of 1916, opposed the ratification of the Income Tax amendment, in a special message to the legislature as governor of New York. In that respect, he followed eminent Republican example, as witness the efforts of Senator Aldrich, as well as of President Taft

and Attorney-General Wickersham, in attempting to defeat the submission of the Income Tax amendment.

However, despite all efforts of the ultra-conservative forces, the people of the United States have sustained the Income Tax amendment overwhelmingly. Of the 48 states, only Utah, Rhode Island and Connecticut rejected the amendment.

Woodrow Wilson, as governor of New Jersey, and Vice President Marshall, then governor of Indiana, were two of the Democratic governors who led the American movement for the income tax, and eight Progressive governors in messages to the legislatures of their Progressive States joined the triumphant procession.

NON-PROGRESSIVE ON INCOME TAX.

FEW ISSUES IN AMERICAN POLITICS HAVE CUT A CLEANER LINE OF CLEAVAGE BETWEEN PROGRESSIVES AND DEMOCRATS, ON THE ONE HAND, AND ULTRA-CONSERVATIVES ON THE OTHER, THAN THE INCOME TAX; AND ON THIS ISSUE, CHARLES EVANS HUGHES STANDS OUT AS AN ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE.

The inheritance tax, which was favored in the 1912 Progressive program, is a feature of the new revenue bill.

Democrats and Progressives alike stand against the old Republican alliance of government and favored interests, and are pledged "To destroy this invisible government, to destroy the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics." President Wilson scourged the lobbyists from the Capitol and restored the practice of plain dealing in public business.

The Wilson administration has put into legislation and practical administration much of the Progressive conservation program, having advanced the conservation system both in law and practice far beyond the Republican standard, and further legislation is before Congress.

A Democratic Congress has authorized the Alaskan railway demanded by the Progressives.

Direct election of senators by the people, exposure of the paid tariff lobby, and a corrupt practices act—all governmental reforms advocated in the Progressive program—are included in the Democratic program of achievement.

DEMOCRATIC LAW FOLLOWS PROGRESSIVE DOCTRINE IN REGARD TO INJUNCTIONS APPLYING TO LABOR DISPUTES.

Railroad companies have been prohibited from controlling waterway transportation lines, in accord with Progressive ideas.

Physical valuation of railroad property as a basis of rate making, is a Democratic law sustaining the Progressive platform.

The creation and extension of the parcels post is another Democratic fulfillment of a Progressive pledge.

The Wilson administration has put into force the Progressive ideas on the subject of reform of labor laws, and has gone much further in many directions. For the first time

in the history of the government, a labor representative is a member of the President's cabinet. A mediation and conciliation board has settled hundreds of disputes between labor and capital, and about 90 per cent. resulting in benefits to labor. Never in the country's history has American labor prospered so well as to wages and hours, or been so signally supported by the Federal government.

AID TO BUSINESS.

THE BUSINESS INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY WILL TESTIFY THAT THE THOROUGH-GOING PROGRAM OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE OF THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION CARRIES OUT IN GREAT DETAIL AND WITH MARKED RESULTS THE FOLLOWING PROGRESSIVE DEMAND: "THE TIME HAS COME WHEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD CO-OPERATE WITH MANUFACTURERS AND PRODUCERS IN EXTENDING OUR FOREIGN COMMERCE. TO THIS END WE DEMAND ADEQUATE APPROPRIATIONS BY CONGRESS AND THE APPOINTMENT OF DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR OFFICERS SOLELY WITH A VIEW TO THEIR SPECIAL FITNESS."

Federal aid for good roads is a Progressive demand which a Democratic Congress has put into concrete existence by legislative act and a liberal appropriation for post roads.

The Progressive program of two battleships a year the pending Democratic naval measure largely expands.

The Progressives of 1912 also strongly held that "it is imperative to the welfare of our people that we enlarge and extend our foreign commerce."

In fulfillment of that worthy ambition, a Democratic administration reports the domestic exports of the United States for 12 months, ending June 30, 1916, as reaching the vast total of \$4,300,000,000, as against \$2,400,000,000, the largest total under Republican law and administration.

The expansion of our foreign commerce is upwards of 50 per cent., while our favorable trade balance now equals \$2,100,000,000 per annum, as against \$500,000,000 in the best Republican days.

Finally, the Progressives of 1912, in protest against the "barbaric system of warfare among nations," favored an international judicial tribunal as a peaceful means of settling international differences, and now in 1916 they have the opportunity to support Woodrow Wilson in his program to carry that progressive thought into effective action in the interests of humanity around the world.

In short, approximately 90 per cent. of the Progressive program of 1912, President Wilson's administration and a Democratic Congress have completed or are now hastening toward completion.

The Progressive platform of 1912 is perhaps the longest national platform ever written. Notwithstanding the large number of measures covered, however, the Wilson administration has industriously kept the legislative mill grinding

until the bulk of the Progressive grist is now ready for human use.

Perhaps never in the history of political platforms has so large a percentage of platform demands been enacted into law.

HUGHES' SIX YEARS OF SILENCE.

AGAINST THIS PROGRESSIVE RECORD OF WOODROW WILSON, THERE ARE SIX YEARS OF SILENCE ON PUBLIC QUESTIONS IN THE CASE OF THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE, EX-JUSTICE HUGHES.

When Mr. Hughes stumped for President Taft in the 1908 campaign, he attacked many of the Progressive ideas—such as income tax, initiative and referendum, public ownership, etc.—as the quack nostrums of “Dr. Bryan.”

AS GOVERNOR, MR. HUGHES DISCLAIMED AGAINST THE INCOME TAX, AND VETOED THE 2-CENT FARE BILL.

As candidate for President, his campaign was worked up by Taft's friends and enemies of Roosevelt. Frank Hitchcock, Taft's postmaster general, was active field manager; and Wickersham, Taft's attorney general, is to-day the principal adviser of Candidate Hughes.

All that is known of Candidate Hughes, therefore, stamps him as a stand-patter and opposed in the main to Progressive policies; whereas the Wilson program has been a Democratic-Progressive program throughout.

WHEN THIS RECORD IS STUDIED IN THE CLEAR LIGHT OF DISINTERESTED DEVOTION TO THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLIC, WHAT PROGRESSIVE WHO BELIEVED IN THE PLATFORM OF 1912 CAN NOW REPUDIATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF WOODROW WILSON, WHO, ALTHOUGH NOT A CANDIDATE UPON THAT PLATFORM, HAS TRANSLATED IT INTO THE LAW OF THE LAND?

BLUSTER MERELY CONTEMPTIBLE.

I am an American but I do not believe that any of us loves a blustering nationality, a nationality with a chip on its shoulder, a nationality with its elbows out and its swagger on. We love that quiet, self-respecting, unconquerable spirit which does not strike until it is necessary to strike, and then strikes to conquer. Never since I was a youngster have I been afraid of the noisy man. I have always been afraid of the still man. I have always been afraid of the quiet man.—From President Wilson's Address to West Point Graduating Class, June 13, 1916.

WOODROW WILSON

A Man of Intellect, Courage and Heart

THE Democratic campaign Text Book in 1912 included a sketch of Woodrow Wilson in which this statement was given prominence:

"Governor Wilson is a new man in public life. It is less than two years ago that he made his first campaign speech as a candidate. He is unique, as a political leader, in the fact that he comes into the public view only in middle life, with his political philosophy fully formed; it has been formed in the privacy of forty years of constant study and investigation."

Woodrow Wilson has been President and helmsman of the American Ship of State throughout a most thrilling period. Experience has tested him most rigorously. The spotlight has played upon him without pause. The manner in which he bore his tests has been an open book to all of the great body of people who had such immediate and vital concern in the effect of his acts upon the destiny of the nation. It so happens, therefore, that there is an intimacy of understanding between Mr. Wilson and his constituents such as has existed between the President of the United States and the people of the United States only in those great periods when the soul of the nation has been put to the test.

WILSON AND LINCOLN.

Washington understood his countrymen and was understood by them. Lincoln knew the heart of the nation and could feel its sympathy and its understanding of him. Woodrow Wilson has shaped the course which the future history of his country will follow and, like the two former Presidents who guided this greatest of Republics through epochal testing times, he has revealed himself to the sympathies of the people.

Campaign periods are periods of retrospection. The citizen who regards the exercise of his right of suffrage as a serious duty rather than his privilege as a party man, then makes an effort to weigh the merits of the candidates and to judge them in the light of their careers. In 1912 people were concerned with the forty years of Woodrow Wilson's life preceding his nomination for the Presidency—the period in which his political theories had been formulated by "constant study and investigation." Today they are concerned solely with the four years of Woodrow Wilson's life since his nomination for the Presidency. They are interested in his acts as President of the United States in a period of international upheaval. Let us see how the President has revealed himself to the various groups of earnest watchers who have hung upon his words and waited tensely for his acts, appreciating fully the important relationship they bore to him.

The mothers of the country seem to feel that they have a peculiarly accurate understanding of Mr. Wilson. They have found in him a man who shared their abhorrence of war except as a step necessary for the preservation of honor. They have found in him a man who sympathized tenderly with their desire that their sons be spared the horrors that have engulfed another hemisphere. They have found in him a man who never yet has given consideration to his personal fortunes in his desire to hold back from their lips the chalice of the supreme maternal sacrifice. Wrong was done by him who said that the mothers of this nation are for peace at any price. Neither the mothers of the land nor its President hold peace so dear, but there is a peculiar sense of sympathy between them because of their mutual conviction that peace ought not to be shattered, that war's desolation ought not to be brought upon our youth, until all honorable means of peacefully adjusting international differences have been utilized.

STANDS FOR AMERICAN IDEALS.

The typical patriotic American—not the militaristic hot-head whose mind pursues the phantom of war as the great intensifier of national virility—has found in Mr. Wilson a man who understood American ideals as well as American history and who was capable of interpreting them in the light of the severest crisis, so that always the sober pride of real Americanism might be upheld. This quality was disclosed in the President's unwillingness to regard Germany's offenses against the lives of Americans as in the same category with Great Britain's restraint of our commerce. The President realized that Germany would trench upon the honor of America were she permitted to continue her submarine operations, and he dealt with that nation in a firm manner which would have resulted in a complete severance of all relations and possibly in a war had Germany not altered her policy in accordance with American demands. Clearly the sentiment of sympathy with American mothers is not of the quality which permits the President to flinch when harsh tests must be faced. Iron and the milk of human kindness both have gone into his make-up.

To the citizen of divided loyalty, Mr. Wilson has revealed himself as a man of iron. The President has struck and struck hard at those who placed their allegiance to America second to their allegiance to the land they had left behind in order to become Americans.

To the political trickster and professional agitator the President has revealed the same forcefulness. Whenever these politicians have essayed to block the progress of wholesome constructive legislation, the President has displayed the ability to overcome them because he knew how to avail himself of the moral force which backed his own just cause.

The President has regarded himself as the representative and the spokesman of the whole people. There have been

times when the steps which the President deemed necessary in the best interests of the whole people were blocked by one cause or another. In every such case the President has gone over the heads of the obstructors and back to the common source of all their representative power. He has appealed to the electorate time and time again, as heretofore Presidents had done only in election time. Unerringly, in each instance of this sort, the people have recognized that Mr. Wilson's side was their side and they have brought to bear upon Washington those powerful creative rays of public opinion which have compelled adherence to the President's policies.

PUTS DUTY FIRST.

The firmness of the President's character has been evidenced particularly in the manner in which he insisted upon Congress remaining in session at times when important and recognized public duties demanded consummation. The first Congress, which he called into extraordinary session, soon after his inauguration, remained in Washington for practically the whole of the next two years. The President insisted that Congress apply its study to the great reform programme to which the Democratic party had pledged itself and he would not hearken to the pleas of the politicians that they be permitted to go back to their own districts to mend their fences.

To the people of Mexico President Wilson has revealed himself as a tolerant friend. There are 15,000,000 people in Mexico, of whom 300,000 bear arms and are engaged in war-like operations varying from service as regular troops to brigandage and border raiding. The President has never been willing to inflict upon these 15,000,000 the suffering of atonement for the wrongs committed by the uncontrolled 300,000. The great force of the United States has been utilized only for the recognition of absolute necessities. The President has striven hard to overcome the forces which were impelling the United States to shut off for all time the aspirations of the lowly and trampled-upon Mexicans toward a happier and freer place in a world in which all men should have equality of opportunity.

To the man who lives by physical labor the President has revealed himself as the possessor of warm sympathies and a keen understanding of the difficulties and hardships under which such a living is wrested from the world. To the world of business the President has revealed himself as a thoughtful and just friend. To both business and capital, the President has revealed himself as a soothing influence upon a situation of gathering ominousness.

To the humanitarian and those men who have sought to serve their fellows by removing some of the thorns that press down on life here in America, the President has revealed himself as a man imbued with their own impulses. He was a mighty protagonist of a measure which would

hold up to scorn the manufactures of those industrial plants which use the vitality of children in their productive processes. His great executive power supported the movement to restrict the hours of labor for women and to improve the conditions under which this labor was performed. Likewise he has exerted himself in behalf of the adoption of measures to provide restitution to working men for injuries suffered during their employment in which they had no responsibility.

UPHOLDER OF EVEN-HANDED JUSTICE.

To each of these elements in our citizenship the President has revealed himself as the stern upholder of even-handed justice whenever one of them essayed to achieve a privilege which trenched upon the rights of another element.

To those who were interested in his personal characteristics the President has revealed himself as a much more robust figure than many of them supposed him to be at the time he was elected. Although forgotten now, the sobriquet of "School Master in Politics" was applied to him by many persons at the time he assumed office. Austerity was regarded as one of his outstanding characteristics and he was suspected of being a man partial to the reserve and dignity of seclusion from the great pulsing currents of our life. The gamut of his emotions was unsuspected. His responsiveness to the human appeal was unknown.

But people know more about Mr. Wilson now than they did then.

The country has been brought to an appreciation of the fact that the man's great heart is equally responsible with his great intellect for the place he is to occupy in the history of America and of mankind. The man who came into office regarded as preeminently a crusader is now recognized as one who has made a consideration of its constructive effect the test of his every act. He has been unwilling to destroy anything for the sake of meting out punishment, but always has demanded a constructive achievement as the result of any act which had a destructive side.

MAKES DECISIONS IN ISOLATION.

The President's great tests have been met in isolation, as was instanced by his withdrawal into the quiet of his own mind when the sinking of the *Lusitania* brought the nation to the brink of war. One must note the expression of a bond of sympathy between the President and another great soul which had preceded him at the helm of the American Government in this excerpt from one of the President's speeches on Lincoln:

"There is a very holy and very terrible isolation for the conscience of every man who seeks to read the destiny in affairs for others as well as himself, for a nation as well as for individuals. That privacy no man can intrude upon. That lonely search of the spirit for the right perhaps no man can assist."

The country still has a fresh recollection of the spectacular

fashion in which corporation-ridden New Jersey called from the quiet shades of Princeton University the man who was thought to be both fit and free to lead them in their rebellion against the special interests. Mr. Wilson's earnest administration of the State Government, the great mass of reform legislation which he forced through the Legislature, his splendid success in changing New Jersey from one of the most oppressed to one of the freest States of the Union is a part of the inspiring political history which upholds mankind's faith in the future of Democracy. His career as Governor of New Jersey served a two-fold purpose: It prepared him for the battles he was to fight in the larger arena of national politics, and, at the same time, so centered upon him the attention of forward-looking Americans as to insure his election to the Presidency of the United States.

HANDLING N. J. LEGISLATURE.

Early in Mr. Wilson's term as Governor of New Jersey he encountered much recalcitrancy among the members of his own party in the State Legislature. It looked as if he, in pressing certain parts of his reform programme, would have as much difficulty with his party colleagues as with the Republican opposition. He then began a practice which was destined to bring him before the public eye as a disturber of precedents when he became President.

He invited himself to a Democratic legislative caucus one evening. Some of the caucus leaders were unfriendly and frowned upon his presence among them; one made an address warning the Governor that the Legislature would not stand for certain measures he had proposed. Then the President's spirit showed and he made an address which will live long in the memories of those who heard it. With hand upraised, he informed the would-be obstructors that if they held out against him he would appeal to the people of New Jersey, whose representative he was, and that by virtue of the powerful support he would gain from them he would overcome the opposition which he then faced. It was a thrilling time for the legislators, who were deeply impressed with the wisdom of not attempting to thwart their Governor. Mr. Wilson's attendance upon the legislative caucus was a forerunner of many visits to the Capitol of the United States during his first Presidential term. The method he employed in each case was the same; it was to get in close personal touch with the lawmaking body, to meet its members face to face and eye to eye, and to assert in their presence his prerogative of party leader which substantiated the various appeals he made for legislative enactments.

Woodrow Wilson, the son of Joseph R. Wilson, and the grandson of James Wilson, who emigrated to the United States from Ireland, was born in Staunton, Virginia, in December, 1856. His education, which was carefully supervised by his father, was begun in Davidson College, North Carolina, and continued at Princeton University and the University of Virginia. At the last named institution he studied law, preparing for a public career; he did practice law for a brief

period in Atlanta, Georgia. His paramount interest was the study of government, however. This had swayed his work at Princeton and at the University of Virginia, and the best fruits of his mind had gone into his writings on the subject of government. A year in the practice of law convinced him that he was intended for other labors, so in 1883 he registered at Johns Hopkins University to study history and political economy. During his residence at this institution he published "Congressional Government: A Study of Government by Committee" and it immediately took its place as a highly authoritative and important work.

From 1885 to 1890, Mr. Wilson served in the faculty of, first, Bryn Mawr College and then of Wesleyan University. He was married June 24, 1885, to Miss Ellen Louise Axson, of a distinguished family of Savannah, Ga. Mrs. Wilson died at the White House on August 6, 1914. In 1890 Princeton drafted her distinguished alumnus into her service, and as Professor of History and Politics at Princeton, Mr. Wilson rapidly achieved distinction as an author, a public speaker and an inspiring teacher of young men. Twelve years later he was elected President of the University and that institution began to inhale more deeply of the thought currents which were shaping American life. During his administration at Princeton two important instances arose wherein Mr. Wilson was called upon to apply the higher principles of Democracy. The first was his attempted abolition of the palatial system of student clubs which drew class distinctions through the life of the college. Mr. Wilson's proposal for a substitute system of "quadrangles" was rejected by the trustees, after a stormy debate. A second issue arose when Mr. Wilson thwarted repeated efforts to have a graduate school established separately from the university. President Wilson proclaimed his opposition to "patronized endeavor," for he believed that the seclusion of graduate students and their separation from the rough and tumble of college life and from contact with all sorts and conditions of men were conditions under which Princeton University could not accept gifts without sacrificing her usefulness and self-esteem. Mr. Wilson held out for many years, although the university blazed with the heat of the friction between him and the protagonists of wealthy exclusiveness. Finally, in 1910, the year in which he was nominated for Governor of New Jersey, a bequest for a graduate school was made under conditions which did not permit the trustees to reject it.

The President has three daughters, Miss Margaret Woodrow Wilson, Mrs. Francis Bowes Sayre and Mrs. William Gibbs McAdoo. He was married at Washington December 18, 1915, to Mrs. Edith Bolling Galt, of that city. In addition to Congressional Government, he is the author of the following works: *The State-Elements of Historical and Practical Politics*, in 1889; *Division and Reunion*, in 1893; *An Old Master and Other Political Essays*, in 1893; *Mere Literature and Other Essays*, in 1896; *Life of George Washington*, in 1896; *History of the American People*, in 1902; and *Constitutional Government in the United States*, in 1908.

HOW WE'VE PROSPERED UNDER WOODROW WILSON

All Records of Previous National Administrations Pale Into Insignificance by Comparison

NOT only all Republican but the world's prosperity records have been broken under Democratic laws and administration—under the “New Freedom” of industry and finance created and administered by President Wilson. And the tide of our business and wealth is still rising.

In the fiscal year ended June 30, 1916, the United States made a world record for one nation's prosperity. Other nations have had their golden age of industrial, commercial and financial greatness; but all former records pale into obscurity beside the astounding totals piled up by the U. S. A. in 1916.

The mills of our great industrial centers have been and are humming day and night. The demand for labor exceeds the supply, wages are higher than ever before. Money is plentiful and cheap. Railroads are unable to get the equipment to handle all the business offered. The farms have produced bountifully and farm products bring the highest prices ever known. Large industries are contracted to capacity well into 1917.

That the United States has been able to reap this splendid harvest—was ready to meet new and huge demands both domestic and foreign—is almost wholly due to the wise constructive legislation enacted under the Wilson Administration. All unbiased authorities agree and other chapters of this Text-Book show that the Federal Reserve Act, the Underwood Tariff Act, the Federal Trade Commission Act, and other of the important legislation of the President's programme equipped American capital and labor to take full advantage of this truly golden opportunity.

All the recognized indices of business conditions tell the same story. Official statistics of bank deposits and bank clearings, postal receipts, building operations, gold supply, exports and imports, ship building, wages, income tax receipts, railway earnings and the national wealth, separate and in combination, go to show the amazing and unprecedented volume of the nation's commerce and industry.

THE ASSERTION THAT THIS UNEQUALED PROSPERITY IS DUE TO AN ABNORMAL SITUATION CREATED BY THE EUROPEAN WAR IS QUICKLY DESTROYED BY STUDY OF THE FACTS. THE BUSINESS IN MUNITIONS OF WAR IS BUT A SMALL FRACTION OF THE TOTAL BUSINESS. It is shown

herein that if the sales abroad of explosives and firearms, and other articles which may justly be placed as munitions of war, were totally eliminated from American business of to-day, still the prosperity of the country would far exceed the records of all former years.

BANK DEPOSITS UP 39 PER CENT.

Neither the most hopeless pessimist nor the most incorrigible partisan can withstand the knock-down contrast of the country's bank deposits under the last Republican and under Woodrow Wilson's Administration.

On May 1, 1916, the gross deposits of the 7,578 national banks as reported to the Comptroller of the Currency were \$11,135,322,000.

On the corresponding date in 1912 they were \$8,015,511,000.

THE FOUR-YEAR GAIN IS \$3,119,811,000, APPROXIMATING 39 PER CENT.

Every geographic section of the United States shared in this prosperous growth.

The six manufacturing States of New England, in the enjoyment of a good export trade, made a four-year bank deposit gain under Wilson of \$191,858,000, or slightly over 30 per cent.

The eight Middle Western industrial States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa and Missouri produced a substantial four-year deposit growth under Wilson of \$658,403,000, an increase of 29.3 per cent.

The nine Western agricultural and mining States of North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico and Oklahoma increased their deposits under Wilson by \$212,219,000, a growth of 41.6 per cent.

Though the 13 Southern States lost heavily in cotton exports and prices through the European war, their bank deposits grew under Wilson \$218,084,000, or 25.7 per cent.

Notwithstanding the transfer of much Pacific commerce to the Atlantic since the war began, the deposits of the eight Pacific States were swelled under Wilson by \$124,462,000, or 21.3 per cent.

The Eastern States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia—including the great Federal Reserve centers of New York and Philadelphia, and the Government Treasury and sub-treasuries—showed the heavy deposit increase of \$1,713,794,000 under Wilson, or 52 per cent.

MUNITIONS CENTER ONLY LOSER.

THE ONLY STATE IN THE UNION FAILING TO SHOW GAIN IN BANK DEPOSITS WAS DELAWARE—THE ATLANTIC COAST SEAT OF THE GREAT DU PONT POWDER INDUSTRY, CHIEF BENEFICIARY OF WAR MUNITIONS BUSINESS. BY CONTRAST, THE AGRICULTURAL DAKOTAS INCREASED THEIR BANK DEPOSITS BY OVER 70 PER CENT. AND OKLAHOMA OVER 100 PER CENT.

Against the revelations of the reports of the 7,578 Federal Member Banks of the United States to the Comptroller of the Currency and the Federal Reserve Board, Republican calumny against the prosperity of the American people vanishes

like a soap bubble released in a wind. It demonstrates that prosperity in 1916 is general and unbounded by section or industry and exists notwithstanding the damaging effects of the European War in the Southern cotton States and upon the Pacific Coast.

The Comptroller's tabular statement of total national bank deposits for 1912 and 1916 by States and geographic divisions, and increases for each, appears hereafter.

As an index of the vastly increased volume of the country's business during the past four years, the bank clearings of the United States during the first six months of 1916 under Wilson were approximately 40 per cent. larger than in the first half of 1912 under Taft, AND CONSTITUTED 70 PER CENT. OF THE FULL TWELVE MONTHS' TRANSACTIONS OF THAT RECORD REPUBLICAN YEAR.

THE SIX MONTHS' TOTAL OF 1916 IS \$118,800,000,000 (BRADSTREET'S) AGAINST \$85,100,000,000 FOR THE FIRST HALF OF 1912—A DIFFERENCE OF OVER \$5,500,000,000 MONTHLY.

The largest percentages of four-year growth are 51 per cent. for the 20 clearing-house cities of the Middle West and 50 per cent. for the 12 clearings centers of the Southwest. Then came the 18 Middle Eastern clearings centers with 45 per cent. and 22 Northwestern with 31 per cent. gain.

BIG GAIN IN POSTAL RECEIPTS.

ANOTHER STANDARD MEASURE OF THE COUNTRY'S BUSINESS ACTIVITY IS THE POSTAL RECEIPTS. RECEIPTS OF UNCLE SAM'S POST OFFICE FOR THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION EXCEED THOSE OF THE PRECEDING REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION BY APPROXIMATELY \$224,000,000, OR 24 PER CENT., NOTWITHSTANDING THE HEAVY FALLING OFF OF THESE RECEIPTS FROM AUGUST, 1914, TO JUNE, 1915, OWING TO THE EUROPEAN WAR. THE POST OFFICE SURPLUS FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30 LAST WAS \$5,742,445.20.

Permanent improvements as represented by building operations reached \$490,000,000 in 142 cities in the first half of 1916. The second quarter of the year shows an advance of 32 per cent., while the full year readily breaks the American record.

The individual income tax produced in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, \$67,957,488 of revenue, compared with \$41,046,162 in 1915—an increase of 65 per cent. due to administrative efficiency and prosperity.

The corporation income tax in 1916 produced \$56,909,941, as compared with \$39,155,000 in 1915 and \$28,583,000 in 1912—an increase of 45 per cent. over 1915, and of approximately 100 per cent. over Republican administration in 1912—due again to administrative efficiency and prosperity.

Ordinary internal revenue receipts in 1916 are \$387,873,000 as compared with \$293,000,000 in 1912, and total internal revenue receipts are \$512,740,000 compared with \$321,615,000 in 1912—a four-year increase of \$191,000,000, or nearly 60 per

cent., the joint product of Democratic legislation, administration and prosperity.

Gold coin, bullion and certificates in the United States on July 1, 1916, made the record total of \$2,439,000,000, or more than one-fourth the total money gold of the world. In July, 1912, the gold stock of the United States was \$1,818,000,000. The increase is \$621,000,000, or 34 per cent.

THE GOLD STOCK OF THE UNITED STATES TO-DAY IS DOUBLE THAT OF FRANCE, AND \$500,000,000 GREATER THAN THAT OF GERMANY AND THE UNITED KINGDOM COMBINED.

The Comptroller of the Currency reports on July 1, 1916, the total stock of money of the United States as \$4,472,000,000. This is an increase of \$500,000,000 in the fiscal year. But, instead of this circulation increase pointing toward inflation, the Comptroller points out, the year showed an increase of \$623,000,000 in gold; so that the increase in gold stock accounted for the entire \$500,000,000 increase in circulation and for \$123,000,000 of currency retired.

SOLID GOLD FOUNDATION.

NO COUNTRY EVER HAD THE SOLID GOLD FOUNDATION FOR ITS BUSINESS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS TO-DAY.

The wealth of the United States for 1916 is estimated by the United States Department of Commerce at \$228,000,000,000, as compared with \$187,000,000,000 in 1912—a four-year gain of 21.8 per cent.

The latest published estimates of European countries are: United Kingdom, \$85,000,000,000; Germany, \$80,000,000,000; France, \$50,000,000,000—the three combined being several billions short of the American total.

The foreign commerce of the United States in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, exceeded \$6,500,000,000.

The British record in 1913 was \$5,700,000,000.

The German record in 1912 was \$4,600,000,000.

The Republican record for the United States in 1912 was \$3,857,000,000.

Our commerce outranks leading foreign competitors by \$1,000,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000, and it passes the Republican record by over \$2,600,000,000, or 68.5 per cent.

American exports in the fiscal year 1916 exceed \$4,300,000,000.

The Republican record, 1912, was \$2,200,000,000.

The British record, 1913, is \$2,556,000,000.

The German record, 1912, is \$2,131,000,000.

BEATS REPUBLICAN RECORD 95 PER CENT.

UNDER A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION IN 1916, THEREFORE, EXPORTS OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS EXCEED THE REPUBLICAN RECORD OF 1912 BY 95 PER CENT.; THE BRITISH TOTAL FOR 1913 BY 68 PER CENT.; AND THE GERMAN FOR 1912 BY 100 PER CENT.

Excess of exports over imports in the fiscal year 1916 gives the United States a favorable trade balance of \$2,135,000,000.

The Republican balance in 1912 was \$550,000,000.

FOUR YEARS OF REPUBLICAN TRADE BALANCES—1909, 1910, 1911 AND 1912—TOGETHER MAKE \$1,612,000,000, OR ABOUT \$500,000,000 LESS THAN THE DEMOCRATIC BALANCE OF 1916.

THE PAST YEAR OF WOODROW WILSON SHOWS A HEAVIER TRADE BALANCE THAN THE FOUR-YEAR TOTAL OF TAFT, OR THE FOUR-YEAR TOTAL FOR ROOSEVELT.

Further demonstration which may interest agricultural America is the following:

Exports of foodstuffs, crude and manufactured, aggregated in the fiscal year 1912 under Taft \$418,000,000.

The 1916 total under Wilson approximates \$1,000,000,000, an increase of \$580,000,000, or nearly 140 per cent. more in exports, which largely represent American farm production.

TARIFF IMPORTANT FACTOR.

A cardinal principle of the Underwood tariff law was to make American industry independent of Government tariff bounty by giving it the privilege enjoyed by foreign competitors—of untaxed raw materials. Free wool is a notable example. Reduction of duties on crude materials for use in manufacturing was the great preparedness measure which laid the foundation for the enormous expansion of export manufactures during the past two years. Note the result:

Exports of Manufactures, American Goods.	Underwood Tariff, Fiscal Year 1916.	Payne Tariff, Same, 1913.	Increase, Per Cent.
Cotton manufactures.....	\$112,000,000	\$53,743,000	108%
Leather and manufactures..	146,614,000	63,800,000	128%
Iron and steel.....	621,209,000	304,000,000	105%
Chemicals, drugs, etc.....	124,362,000	26,574,000	350%
Automobiles and parts.....	120,000,000	31,250,000	284%
Wool manufactures.....	54,000,000	3,560,000	1,400%

TO SUPPLY AMERICAN MILLS WITH MATERIALS FOR THIS HUGE EXPANSION OF EXPORTS, IMPORTS OF CRUDE MATERIALS FOR USE IN MANUFACTURING ARE \$300,000,000 GREATER IN 1916 THAN IN 1913. AMERICAN FARMS, MINES, RANCHES AND PLANTATIONS HAVE LIKEWISE BEEN CALLED UPON FOR RECORD PRODUCTION OF MATERIALS FOR USE IN MANUFACTURING, AND AMERICAN LABOR AND CAPITAL HAVE NEVER BEFORE BEEN SO HEAVILY EMPLOYED OR AT SUCH LIBERAL INCOME AND WAGE RETURNS.

HUGE EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURES.

Total exports of manufactures ready for consumption for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, approximate \$2,000,000,000, as against \$776,000,000 under the last year of the

Payne tariff. The European war furnished the opportunity, but wise tariff and currency laws and a liberal commercial policy prepared the way and facilitated the great industrial and commercial development.

The total industrial production of the United States in 1916—including products of agriculture, manufactures, mines, quarries, oil wells, forests, fisheries and new buildings—approximates a value of \$45,000,000,000.

The \$1,350,000,000 by which exports of the recent fiscal year to European warring nations exceed our normal exports to those countries represent only 3 per cent. of our total industrial production.

EXPORTS TEN PER CENT. OF WHOLE.

THE ENTIRE \$4,300,000,000 OF OUR 1916 EXPORTS TO ALL COUNTRIES ARE LESS THAN 10 PER CENT. OF OUR AGGREGATE VOLUME OF PRODUCTION.

Simply the increase in the country's 1916 industrial income over that of 1912 amounts to several times the export total, heavy though the latter has become.

In leading lines of industrial activity, 1916 ranks above 1912 from 20 per cent. to 50 per cent.

The 1916 steel production of the United States is placed at 42,000,000 tons—against the record under Republican regime of 31,000,000—an increase of 35 per cent.

The 1916 total value of manufactures is estimated at over \$30,000,000,000—against \$20,670,000,000 in the census of 1910—an increase of 45 per cent.

Exports of finished manufactures for the fiscal year approximate \$2,000,000,000, and, though the largest on record, are only 6.6 per cent. of the total manufactured product.

Though iron and steel exports in 1916 are \$618,000,000 against the Payne tariff record of \$304,000,000 in 1913, the exports are only 15 per cent. of the steel tonnage produced; and, deducting the entire exports volume from production, the balance for home demand is still more than 5,000,000 tons greater than the 1912 total for both home and export demand.

The U. S. Steel Corporation reports show that even in 1915 the steel ingot production, less total steel exports, was 600,000 tons greater than the average annual steel ingot production for the seven years, 1908-14 inclusive, for both home and foreign supply. U. S. Steel unfilled orders in 1916 are double those of 1915.

As showing the tremendous sustaining power of home demand, it is interesting to note that the steel rail capacity of American mills was contracted for, as early as July 1, 1916, one year ahead.

Contracts to-day are being made chiefly for delivery in the second half of 1917, and large European contracts are being made for delivery after the war.

WONDERFUL BUILDING BOOM.

The building trades industries—which produce nothing for consumption abroad—report 187 wage increases in 34 States which is corollary to the report of 142 cities THAT PER-

MENTS DURING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1916 CALL FOR NEW BUILDINGS TO THE HUGE VALUATION TOTAL OF \$490,000,000 (BRADSTREETS). THIS IS THE GREATEST SIX MONTHS' BUILDING TOTAL ON RECORD.

As further demonstrating that the country's prosperity is general, and not confined to war business on the Atlantic coast—as some Republicans would like us to believe—the Northwest leads in building improvement with a gain of 57 per cent. over a year ago; while Far-western cities are second with a gain of 57 per cent., and the Middle West third with 23.6 per cent. gain.

THE HANDLING OF THE ENORMOUS INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION OF THE UNITED STATES HAS TAXED THE COUNTRY'S TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES BEYOND PRECEDENT. RAILROAD EARNINGS IN 1916 ARE THE HEAVIEST KNOWN, AND RUN ABOUT \$50,000,000 TO \$60,000,000 PER MONTH LARGER, OR 25 PER CENT. TO 30 PER CENT., COMPARED WITH 1912. FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30 LAST (INTER-STATE COMMERCE COMMISSION) RAILWAY EARNINGS WERE \$3,400,000,000, AGAINST \$2,740,000,000 FOR 1912, UNDER TAFT—A GAIN OF 24 PER CENT.

FARMERS' LARGE SLICE.

DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS, THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE ESTIMATE OF ANNUAL PRODUCTION OF FARM WEALTH SHOWS AN AVERAGE OF \$10,000,000,000 AS AGAINST SOMEWHAT LESS THAN \$9,000,000,000 PER ANNUM DURING THE TAFT ADMINISTRATION AND A LITTLE OVER \$7,000,000,000 DURING THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION.

This prosperity of the American farmer places a strong and enduring foundation under the entire national fabric of business activity—and is greatest under Democratic laws.

In the 1914 campaign, hoping to win the Congressional elections, the Mann-Smoot-Gallinger type of narrow Republican politician proclaimed from every political housetop the bold assertion that the business depression then upon the country had nothing to do with the European war, but was entirely chargeable to Democratic administration. Now this same outfit loudly asserts that the unprecedented prosperity of the United States has nothing whatever to do with Democratic administration, but is attributed solely to the war. Can you beat it?

To-day the prosperity which the nation enjoys bears witness that Democracy has kept the faith. To-day the gates of opportunity are open; the hosts of special privilege stand disarmed. To-day the forces of government are encouraging, not blocking, the full expression of the nation's progress.

—From Martin H. Glynn's keynote speech.

GENERAL PROSPERITY IS SHOWN IN BANK FIGURES

This consolidated testimony of American bankers as rendered in reports to the Comptroller of the Currency, setting forth the deposits of over 14,000,000 persons in every State, county and town in the Union having a national bank, convicts of gross misrepresentation and gross insincerity every Republican candidate and organ that denies our unprecedented prosperity or attacks it as temporary sectional, "blood-soaked" and dependent upon foreign wars.

TOTAL DEPOSITS.

Increase of 1916 over 1912.

	April 8, 1912.	May 1, 1916.	Increase.
1 Maine	\$45,599,000	\$54,770,000	\$9,171,000
2 New Hampshire . . .	21,697,000	26,355,000	4,658,000
3 Vermont	19,047,000	23,599,000	4,552,000
4 Massachusetts	422,361,000	557,789,000	135,428,000
5 Rhode Island	34,501,000	35,067,000	566,000
6 Connecticut	76,733,000	114,216,000	37,483,000
New England States	\$619,938,000	\$811,796,000	\$191,858,000
7 New York	\$1,864,091,000	\$3,217,673,000	\$1,353,582,000
8 New Jersey	205,794,000	266,878,000	61,084,000
9 Pennsylvania	1,016,694,000	1,289,724,000	273,030,000
10 Delaware	11,816,000	10,952,000	*864,000
11 Maryland	115,518,000	129,527,000	14,009,000
12 District of Columbia .	32,638,000	45,591,000	12,953,000
Eastern States .	\$3,246,551,000	\$4,960,345,000	\$1,713,794,000
13 Virginia	\$103,247,000	\$136,030,000	\$32,783,000
14 West Virginia	51,623,000	70,895,000	19,272,000
15 North Carolina . . .	38,349,000	46,945,000	8,596,000
16 South Carolina . . .	24,329,000	37,898,000	13,569,000
17 Georgia	57,111,000	69,828,000	12,717,000
18 Florida	40,061,000	58,553,000	18,492,000
19 Alabama	43,310,000	50,650,000	7,340,000
20 Mississippi	14,762,000	20,143,000	5,381,000
21 Louisiana	53,539,000	55,291,000	1,752,000
22 Texas	213,698,000	278,587,000	64,889,000
23 Arkansas	20,754,000	27,472,000	6,718,000
24 Kentucky	80,650,000	86,514,000	5,864,000
25 Tennessee	73,192,000	93,903,000	20,711,000
Southern States..	\$814,615,000	\$1,032,709,000	\$218,084,000
26 Ohio	\$372,593,000	\$500,261,000	\$127,668,000
27 Indiana	162,224,000	190,991,000	28,767,000
28 Illinois	704,232,000	893,093,000	188,861,000
29 Michigan	146,280,000	201,925,000	55,645,000
30 Wisconsin	152,096,000	190,739,000	38,643,000
31 Minnesota	221,133,000	354,941,000	133,808,000
32 Iowa	168,523,000	213,076,000	44,553,000
33 Missouri	318,983,000	359,441,000	40,458,000
Middle States.....	\$2,246,064,000	\$2,904,467,000	\$658,403,000

	April 8, 1912.	May 1, 1916.	Increase.
34 North Dakota.....	\$32,427,000	\$56,760,000	\$24,333,000
35 South Dakota.....	31,597,000	53,192,000	21,595,000
36 Nebraska.....	127,242,000	150,187,000	22,945,000
37 Kansas.....	81,070,000	105,293,000	24,223,000
38 Montana.....	35,238,000	53,733,000	18,495,000
39 Wyoming.....	13,356,000	19,874,000	6,518,000
40 Colorado.....	106,423,000	131,577,000	25,154,000
41 New Mexico.....	14,508,000	18,974,000	4,466,000
42 Oklahoma.....	59,889,000	124,379,000	64,490,000
Western States....	\$501,750,000	\$713,969,000	\$212,219,000
43 Washington.....	\$106,572,000	\$113,973,000	\$7,401,000
44 Oregon.....	63,938,000	77,295,000	13,357,000
45 California.....	353,734,000	426,590,000	72,856,000
46 Idaho.....	20,293,000	30,486,000	10,193,000
47 Utah.....	24,101,000	35,291,000	11,190,000
48 Nevada.....	6,525,000	8,367,000	1,842,000
49 Arizona.....	8,174,000	15,212,000	7,038,000
50 Alaska.....	918,000	1,503,000	585,000
Pacific States. ..	\$584,255,000	\$708,717,000	\$124,462,000
51 Hawaii (Island Pos- sessions).....	\$2,328,000	\$3,319,000	\$991,000
Total Banks.....	\$8,015,511,000	\$11,135,322,000	\$3,119,811,000

* Decrease.

WILSON'S WISE AND PRUDENT COURSE.

(From *Indianapolis News, Ind.*, May 5, 1916.)

“CONGRESS is again being deluged with telegrams and letters evidently originating in some central source, believed to be the American embargo conference, urging members to oppose a severance of diplomatic relations with Germany. * * * They know that the President is not seeking war, but that, on the contrary, he has gone to the limit in his effort to avoid it.

“The question of peace or war is one for the Berlin government to answer. * * *

“During the last year President Wilson has shown a moderation and restraint that have been the wonder of the world—that have exposed him to severe criticism. He has given Germany every chance to set herself right, not only with this country, but with civilization. And he still has hopes, as do we all, that the chance will be improved. * * *

“Certainly they will indignantly resent the insinuation that President Wilson is trying to rush this Nation into war against its will. But for his wise and prudent attitude there would have been war long ago.”

The world is held stable by the man who waits for the next day to find out whether the report was true or not.
—Woodrow Wilson.

WHAT PRESIDENT WILSON HAS DONE FOR BUSINESS

Huge Gain of Nation's Industry Directly Due to President's Wise Statesmanship

By Theodore E. Price,

Famous Economist and Business Expert.

FACING the above record of the nation's growth since they were removed from power, the Republicans, through every agency at their command, including their candidate for President, endeavor to belittle the showing by saying: "No intelligent man is deceived by the temporary prosperity due to abnormal conditions."

The implication intended is that the European war is entirely responsible for a prosperity that we would not otherwise have enjoyed. Let us analyze the facts.

It will be admitted that whatever profit the United States has derived from the war in Europe is measured exclusively by the increase in the balance of trade in our favor.

As our imports have varied but slightly since 1912, the increase in our exports must include everything that we have gained from the expansion in our foreign trade.

This increase in exports is about equal to the increase in our trade balance, and while it cannot all be profit—for the cost of producing the things exported should be deducted from it—we will, for the purposes of this argument, assume that our war gains equal the entire amount by which our balance of trade has exceeded the normal average before the war.

For the four fiscal years ending June 30th, 1914, our favorable balance averaged \$550,000,000 a year.

For the last two years it has been as follows:

For the year ending June 30th, 1915....	\$1,094,000,000
For the year ending June 30th, 1916....	2,136,000,000

Total	\$3,230,000,000
Normal for two years, \$550,000,000, each	1,100,000,000

Increase for two years of war.....	\$2,130,000,000
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This increase of \$2,130,000,000 is manifestly in excess of our entire gain from the war. It is equal to our profits plus the cost of production, and it is only through the increase in our foreign trade that the war can have profited us at all. Our mathematically possible maximum gain from the war is, therefore, \$21.30 per capita. This figure is extravagant. Our new export business is not all war business which will be lost when the war is over. Much of it is business with nations that are not in the war at all. Trade relations with

both neutral and non-neutral nations have been established that will endure. But consider the matter on the basis of the highest possible figure, what do you find?

You find that our national wealth has increased by \$41,000,000,000, or \$410 per capita. Our debt to Europe has been reduced by \$3,340,000,000, or \$33 per capita; our total bank deposits have been increased by \$4,700,000,000, or \$47 per capita, and the value of our manufactured products by \$10,000,000,000 or \$100 per capita. If the war in Europe has been the only reason for our prosperity, by what alchemy has the gain of only \$2,130,000,000 from our foreign trade been multiplied nearly twenty times in the growth of our national wealth?

The non-partisan economist hence believes that while the war has undoubtedly stimulated the foreign demand for some things, our prosperity has been mainly due to the encouragement that has been given to business and enterprise by the Democratic Party under the leadership of President Wilson.

The work of the administration in this respect is unparalleled. Never before have so many sound and necessary economic reforms been enacted into law in so short a time. The list is a long one. Here are some of many stimulative measures which have aided this expansion:

1. The Federal Reserve Act, which stands out as the most superlatively beneficial legislation that any party has ever given to the people. Through it business has been unfettered and panics have become almost impossible. The strength and mobility that have been given to our financial resources through the Federal Reserve System have enabled us to withstand the shock of the greatest war in history and have converted what might have been a period of utter prostration into one of extreme prosperity.

2. The Rural Credits Act, which gives the farmer the same access to credit that has hitherto been reserved to the business man.

3. The Income Tax Law, under which the inordinately rich are contributing a larger share toward the maintenance of a government which protects them in the possession of their larger and unnecessary fortunes.

4. The Federal Trade Commission Act seeks to remedy industrial injustice, prevent unfair competition and protect both the business man and the public. It provides for a continuing and careful investigation into business conditions. It substitutes caution and advice for prosecution, and aims to correct abuses without injuring those who are ignorant or innocent.

5. The Clayton Act, which defines the indefinite negations of the Sherman Law, prohibits interlocking directorates, delegatizes the monopolistic control of one corporation by another, and declares "that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce."

6. The Good Roads Law, which extends Federal aid to the states in road building, and promises to greatly

TABLE OF AMERICA'S

Population (Estimated for 1916 upon 1910 Census)	
National Wealth (Estimate Department of Commerce)	
U. S. Debt to Europe (Estimate, Department of Commerce)	
Bank Clearings (Bradstreet's) first half calendar year	
National Bank Resources as of May 1st (U. S. Comptroller of Currency)	
National Bank Deposits as of May 1st (Gross) (U. S. Comptroller of Currency)	
State Bank Deposits (includes Trust Cos.) (Official for 1912, estimated for 1916)	
Savings Bank Deposits	
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National Bank Loans as of May 1st (U. S. Comptroller of the Currency)	
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Total Foreign Commerce U.S., Year ending June 30 (Department of Commerce)	
Exports except gold and silver. Year ending June 30 (Department of Commerce)	
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Balance trade in favor U. S. Year ending June 30 (Department of Commerce) ..	
Net imports gold. Year ending June 30 (Dept. of Commerce) (1912 exports)	
Agricultural exports. Year ending June 30 (Department of Commerce)	
Manufactured exports. Year ending June 30 (Department of Commerce)	
Railway operating revenue gross } Year ending June 30 Closely estimated { ..	
Railway operating revenue net } } for June. { ..	
Value of crops and live stock produced } Calendar years (Department of { ..	
Farm value wheat crop } 1912 and 1916. Agriculture.) { ..	
Pig iron output (Tons) (Current estimates)	
Steel production (Tons) (Current estimates)	
Farm Lands (Census Valuation 1910. Est. Valuation 1916)	
Employed in manufacturing industries	Closely estimated for 1916 upon basis Census figures for previous year
Wages paid in manufacturing industries	
Capital employed in manufacturing industries	
Value manufactured products	
American Ships in foreign trade (U. S. Comr. of Navigation)	
Ship building (U. S. Comr. of Navigation)	

facilitate human intercourse in the country districts, reverse the cityward tendency of our population and enormously increase the value of our agricultural land by making it more accessible.

7. The Smith-Lever Agricultural Education Act, which provides for Federal cooperation with the states in extending a knowledge of progressive farming and responds to the demand that "the last load of illiteracy shall be lifted from American youth."

To these should be added the Child Labor Law, passage of which has been obtained by the President, and numerous other less important measures which evidence the wise solicitude of the administration for the business of a nation that consists chiefly of business men.

EFFICIENT EXECUTIVE MEASURES.

This solicitude has been manifest, not only in constructive legislation, but in the manifold activities of the various great departments of the government.

The Agricultural Department has extended its work aggressively and variously.

The Secretary of the Treasury has taken the lead in organ-

UNPARALLELED PROSPERITY

1912	1916	Increase or Decrease	Percentage of Increase or Decrease
94,736,000	101,200,000	+	6,464,000 + 6.08
\$187,000,000,000	\$228,000,000,000	+	\$41,000,000,000 + 22.0
6,500,000,000	3,160,000,000	-	3,340,000,000 - 51.4
85,300,000,000	118,800,000	+	33,500,000,000 + 39.2
10,792,149,000	14,195,595,000	+	3,403,446,000 + 31.5
8,015,000,000	11,135,000,000	+	3,120,000,000 + 38.9
6,750,000,000	8,064,000,000	+	1,314,000,000 + 19.4
4,442,000,000	5,009,000,000	+	567,000,000 + 12.8
\$19,207,000,000	\$24,208,000,000	+	\$5,001,000,000 + 26.0
5,882,167,000	7,606,428,000	+	1,724,261,000 + 29.3
3,276,786,613	4,018,043,555	+	741,256,942 + 22.6
1,818,400,000	2,439,901,000	+	621,500,000 + 34.1
4,278,000,000	6,531,000,000	+	2,253,000,000 + 52.7
2,465,000,000	4,333,000,000	+	1,868,000,000 + 76.
1,813,000,000	2,197,000,000	+	384,000,000 + 21.1
\$551,000,000	2,136,000,000	+	\$1,585,000,000 + 287.0
-8,000,000	404,000,000	+	412,000,000 ..
1,020,000,000	(1915) 1,470,000,000	+	450,000,000 + 44.1
1,020,000,000	2,600,000,000	+	1,580,000,000 + 155.
2,740,000,000	3,500,000,000	+	760,000,000 + 27.6
845,679,000	1,164,000,000	+	318,321,000 + 37.6
9,342,000,000	10,500,000,000	+	1,158,000,000 + 11.7
555,000,000	930,000,000	+	375,000,000 + 67.5
29,700,000	40,000,000	+	10,300,000 + 35.
31,000,000	42,000,000	+	11,000,000 + 35.5
28,475,000,000	38,500,000,000	+	10,025,000,000 + 35.4
6,900,000	8,500,000	+	1,600,000 + 23.2
3,760,000,000	5,320,000,000	+	1,560,000,000 + 41.5
21,000,000,000	37,500,000,000	+	6,500,000,000 + 30.9
22,800,000,000	32,200,000,000	+	9,400,000,000 + 41.2
930,000 (tons)	2,100,000 (tons)	+	1,170,000 (tons) + 126.
271,000 (tons)	1,225,000 (tons)	+	954,000 (tons) + 352.

izing many movements for the relief and extension of commerce.

The Post Office Department has been conducted at a profit instead of a loss as under Taft and Roosevelt. The rural free delivery service has been greatly extended. The parcel post has been popularized, and the depositors in the postal savings banks have increased from 165,000 in 1913 to 550,000 in 1915.

The Department of Justice, while pursuing real criminals relentlessly, has inaugurated no political prosecutions for the glory of trust-busting, and has preferred to caution rather than persecute those who were guiltless of any intent to transgress our complex laws.

The State Department, under the personal direction of the President, has secured for us the benefits of peace without the loss of honor, and the candid-minded man must admit that we have benefited humanity more by our diplomacy than we could have done by a resort to arms that would have cost millions of lives and billions of treasure.

"A wise man changes his opinion, a fool never," and, considering the difficulties of his position and the divided public opinion of the country, the President has shown marvelous

skill in guiding the Ship of State through the most troublous period of the world's history. The hindsight of the critic is naturally more accurate, though less necessary, than the foresight of the statesman, and the fact that his detractors can find nothing but the President's Mexican policy to attack shows how remarkably correct most of his judgments have been.

Through it all he has never lost sight of or sympathy with American business industry and labor. Toward them his policy has been one of constant solicitude. It has found expression in the Halls of Congress, in the White House and in all his public utterances.

If there is any relation whatever between constructive legislation and business progress, between conservation and prosperity and between the statutory enactment of economic law and material advancement, then we must conclude that the marvelous business development in America during the past two years is due to the policies of the President rather than to the war in Europe.

PEOPLE NEED WILSON.

Can there be any doubt as to the disposition of the people toward a public servant who can give such an account of his stewardship? In one of his essays upon the United States, John Stuart Mill said that "The American people when confronted with grave economic questions often seemed upon the point of doing the wrong thing, but in the end the common sense of the people has prevailed and they have done the right thing."

Since the time of Mill the common sense and economic sanity of the American people have not diminished. Thanks to the conservatism, tact and statesmanship of President Wilson, we have become the most powerful nation in the world, both morally and economically.

THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL INSIST UPON RETAINING THE SERVICES OF A MAN WHO HAS SERVED THEM SO WELL IS A CONCLUSION OF BOTH LOGIC AND OBSERVATION.

FORMER REPUBLICAN CREDITS PROSPERITY TO THE NEW BANKING LAW.

In an interview last June in New York, William Barret Ridgley, a former Republican Comptroller of the Currency, declared that the present prosperity of the United States rests upon secure foundation. The new banking law, Mr. Ridgely states, is largely responsible for this fortunate outlook. He said:

"We have cleaned house, paid our debts and laid up a prodigious fund against future contingencies. Of almost equal importance is the improvement in our financial system, due to the establishment of the Federal Reserve Bank, which gives us the machinery and organization for utilizing credits and such a mobilization of our reserve money as to make impossible any sudden derangement of our financial matters as we have frequently seen in the past."

AMERICA EUROPE'S "GOOD SAMARITAN"

War Munitions Only Two-thirds of One Per Cent. Total Industrial Production of U. S. During War Period

AMERICA IS PLAYING THE PART OF GOOD SAMARITAN TO EUROPE, AND THE PRESENT PROSPERITY OF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT "BLOOD-SOAKED." THE FACTORIES, MINES AND FIELDS OF THE UNITED STATES ARE HELPING FEED, CLOTHE AND PROVIDE TOOLS FOR THE DAILY WORK OF THE MILLIONS OF THE CIVIL POPULATIONS OF THE BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES—AND FOR THE ENTIRE POPULATIONS OF NEUTRAL COUNTRIES.

But for this service, in addition to the losses of war, famine and destitution would before this have overtaken great peoples of Europe, including neutrals. This is one of many facts which answer Republican distortions of the truth concerning the present character and prospect of continuance of the prosperity of the country under Woodrow Wilson. Analysis of the relation of war munitions exports to other exports and of the general business of the country follows:

During 23 months of the European war, to June 30, 1916, agriculture accounts for \$2,899,000,000 of the exports of the United States, and explosives and firearms for \$535,000,000 of the country's exports. These and the following figures are supplied by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

In other words, agriculture exceeds war munitions in volume of exports by \$2,364,000,000—or 442 per cent.—notwithstanding all the recent expansion of war munition business.

During the same 23 months, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, mines and miscellaneous items together contribute exports aggregating \$3,094,000,000, which exceeds munition exports by \$2,559,000,000—or 478 per cent.—indicating that our stable industries, resting upon natural resources, are five times as great a factor as war munitions even in the export trade of the world's greatest war period.

Moreover, total exports of manufactures during this same period, exclusive of cereal manufactures and provisions, aggregate \$3,742,907,000, or seven times the exports of explosives and firearms; which indicates that war munitions represent only 14% even of our exports of manufactures.

The total production of the United States, including wealth produced by agriculture, manufactures, mines, forests, fish-

eries, building and miscellaneous industries, is estimated as exceeding \$40,000,000,000 in 1915 and at over \$45,000,000,000 (it is more likely \$50,000,000,000) in 1916, and for the 23 months of the war will exceed \$80,000,000,000.

The war munition business, as represented by \$535,000,000 of exports of explosives and firearms, therefore, is a factor in the nation's industry and commerce to the following extent:

It is only $\frac{2}{3}$ of 1% of the country's total industrial production.

It is less than 8% of the total exports.

It is only 18% even of the exports of agricultural productions; while only 2.6% of the total farm production of the past two years, valued at \$20,400,000,000.

It is only 14% of the total exports of manufactures; and only about 1% of the total value of manufactured products of the United States during 23 months ending June 30, 1916.

The fact is that the decrease of cotton exports as a result of the war offsets all increase in exports due to war munitions.

PROSPERITY IS SECURE.

Republican Banker of Chicago Admits End of War Will Not Hurt Good Times.

GEORGE M. REYNOLDS, PRESIDENT OF THE CONTINENTAL AND COMMERCIAL NATIONAL BANK OF CHICAGO, RETURNED A FEW DAYS AGO FROM NEW YORK. SPEAKING OF SENTIMENT THERE HE SAID: "I CONTINUED TO BE IMPRESSED WITH THE UNANIMITY OF BELIEF AMONG NEW YORK BANKING INTERESTS THAT THE END OF THE WAR WILL NOT MATERIALLY AFFECT THE INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY OF THIS COUNTRY. I HAVEN'T BEEN ABLE TO SEE IT JUST THAT WAY MYSELF. BUT NEW YORK INTERESTS ARE IN TOUCH DIRECTLY WITH THE MONEY AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS OF THE COUNTRY, AND THEY HOLD THAT BY THE TIME THE WAR IS OVER ITS END WILL HAVE BEEN DISCOUNTED IN BOTH A MONEY AND INDUSTRIAL WAY. THERE IS BELIEF THAT IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS THE BANKS WILL BE ABLE TO REALIZE DECENT RATES OF INTEREST WITHOUT ANY INCONVENIENCE TO BORROWERS TO MEET EITHER COMMERCIAL NEEDS OR THE NEEDS OF THE SECURITIES MARKET. I FOUND IN NO QUARTER APPREHENSION OVER ANY PHASE OF CONDITIONS OBTAINING.—From the Farmers' Review, Chicago.

The following classification by the statistical division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce covers the domestic exports of the United States for 23 months, from August 1, 1914, to June 30, 1916:

DOMESTIC EXPORTS OF THE U. S. CLASSIFIED. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS:

Animals and Foodstuffs—

Live animals	\$177,362,240
Grain and grain products..	978,895,459
Fruits and nuts.....	70,427,511
Meat and dairy products.....	501,966,678
Other	303,042,985

Total	<u>\$2,031,694,873</u>
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Raw Materials—

Cotton, unmanufactured	\$742,453,581
Tobacco, unmanufactured	91,996,335
Other	33,126,461

Total	<u>\$867,576,377</u>
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Total agricultural products....	<u>\$2,899,271,250</u>
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MANUFACTURES (not including food-stuffs)—

Cars, carriages and automobiles.....	\$250,211,319
Chemicals, drugs, dyes and medicines..	168,354,904
Copper and manufactures.....	263,360,723
Cotton manufactures	180,191,063
Electrical machinery	48,610,417
Explosives and firearms.....	535,377,358
Iron and Steel manufactures:	
Machinery	268,480,145
Other (except firearms)	534,656,666
Leather and manufactures.....	262,781,287
Mineral oils refined.....	275,952,600
Wool manufactures	80,833,090
Other manufactures	874,098,015

Total manufactures	<u>\$3,742,907,587</u>
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Fisheries products	\$32,176,136
Forest and mine products.....	155,393,348
Miscellaneous	7,868,259

Grand total domestic exports..	<u>\$6,837,616,580</u>
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In the above classification of exports for the 23 months ending June 30, 1916, it will be seen that the \$535,000,000 of explosives and firearms is exceeded by grain and grain products alone to the amount of 82 per cent., and even by meat and dairy products and animals 27 per cent. Unmanufactured cotton and tobacco, though severely reduced in exports by war, still exhibit an export total that is larger by \$300,000,000 than explosives and firearms. Manufactures of cotton, leather

and wool, together with chemicals, exhibit an export total nearly 30 per cent. greater than war munitions. Cars and automobiles, copper, electrical machinery and mineral oil make a total nearly 60 per cent. greater than explosives and firearms, while total exports of iron and steel manufactures exceed war munitions by \$800,000,000, or 150 per cent.

Restoration of peace will add to the business of practically all industries except explosives and firearms.

Peace, therefore, is due to bring renewed activity, instead of depression, to American industry; and monthly increasing operations, earnings, dividends, wages, new building and companies, and prices of industrial shares, point to a stronger foundation for prosperity with each month's progress toward approaching peace.

A FLOURISHING TREASURY

THE FISCAL year closed on June 30, 1916, with the United States Treasury in an exceedingly strong and gratifying condition, reflecting the great and unprecedented prosperity of the country, and demonstrating the efficiency of Democratic management of the Government and the effective enforcement of the revenue laws by Secretary McAdoo.

Subject to revision upon analysis of complete returns, the reports show that THE BALANCE IN THE GENERAL FUND AT THE CLOSE OF BUSINESS ON JUNE 30TH WAS \$236,879,590.90, INCLUDING AMOUNTS TO THE CREDIT OF DISBURSING OFFICERS AND OUTSTANDING TREASURY WARRANTS. WITH THESE ELIMINATED, THE BALANCE WAS \$174,965,231.97, THE GREATEST BALANCE IN THE GENERAL FUND OF THE GOVERNMENT SINCE 1908.

The SURPLUS of all receipts over all expenditures for the year amounted to \$78,737,810.11.

The SURPLUS of ordinary receipts over ordinary disbursements (exclusive of Panama Canal and public debt transactions) was \$61,112,813.74.

INCOME TAX RECEIPTS REACHED THE GREAT TOTAL OF \$124,867,430.28. This amount included \$56,909,941.78 from corporations and \$67,957,488.50 from individuals, EXCEEDING ALL ESTIMATES OF COLLECTIONS FOR THE YEAR.

CUSTOMS RECEIPTS for the year amounted to \$211,866,222.34, EXCEEDING THE ESTIMATE BY MORE THAN \$16,000,000.

Receipts from Internal Revenue were unprecedented and remarkable, reaching the enormous total of \$512,740,769.58, and exceeding all previous estimates by many millions. Ordinary Internal Revenue receipts amounted to \$387,873,339.30, and, excluding the emergency revenue from this amount, these receipts were approximately \$304,000,000, or \$32,000,000 greater than had been estimated.

NATION'S NEW WEALTH IS SHARED BY LABOR

Wonderful Expansion of Commerce Under Wilson Adds Billions to Yearly Incomes of American Wage Earners

WAGES in the United States under Democratic Administration are at the highest level reached in the history of this or any other country. The number of wage earners has increased; their pay has increased; their workday has been shortened.

Taking the official data of the U. S. Department of Labor upon union wages per hour as the basis of computation, you find that **THE AVERAGE UNION WAGE DURING THE YEARS 1914 AND 1915, UNDER DEMOCRATIC LAWS AND ADMINISTRATION, WERE 10 PER CENT. HIGHER THAN THE AVERAGE FOR THE SIX YEARS—1907 TO 1912 INCLUSIVE—UNDER THE DINGLEY AND PAYNE TARIFF LAWS AND REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION.**

Taking as a basis a tabulation of press announcements of wage increases for 1916, made by the Department of Labor, it is conservative to place the 1916 wage level at 10 per cent. higher than 1915; or 20 per cent. higher than the Republican level of 1907-12.

The census of 1910 (based on 1909 data) gave the number of wage earners employed in manufacturing industries only as 6,615,000, and the wages paid, \$3,427,000,000. It is estimated (on basis of preliminary returns of 1914 census of manufactures) that in 1915 American manufactures gave employment to 7,800,000 wage earners at wages amounting to \$4,407,000,000; or an increase of nearly \$1,000,000,000 over 1910.

IT IS CONSERVATIVELY ESTIMATED THAT IN 1916 AMERICAN MANUFACTURES EMPLOY 10 PER CENT. MORE WAGE EARNERS AT 10 PER CENT. HIGHER AVERAGE RATE OF WAGES PER ANNUM THAN IN 1915. THIS WOULD BRING THE 1916 VOLUME OF WAGES PAID IN MANUFACTURES ONLY UP TO \$5,300,000,000, OR UPWARDS OF \$1,800,000,000 OVER THE REPUBLICAN CENSUS RECORD OF 1910.

THESE FIGURES ARE FOR WAGE EARNERS EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES ONLY. The census of 1910 gave the total number employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries as 10,658,000, in transportation 2,637,000, in mines 964,824, and in agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry (exclusive of 6,000,000 farmers and other employers) as 6,659,000—making a total industrial army of wage earners of over 20,000,000.

This industrial expansion—heavily increased produc-

tion, intensified labor demand, larger returns and higher wages—which prevails on a nation-wide scale in 1916, affects the wage level of the entire industrial army of 20,000,000 wage earners. IT ADDS BILLIONS TO THE AGGREGATE WAGE ENVELOPE OF AMERICAN LABOR AND IS AN UPLIFTING FORCE WHICH MAKES FOR A HIGHER STANDARD OF CIVILIZATION AND PROGRESS. The far-reaching character of the wage increases won by American labor in 1916 is shown by the following cases noted by the Labor Department tabulation of press announcements:

Industries.	Wage Increase.	Wage Earners Affected.
Arizona, miners.....	Up to 20%	13,000
Connecticut, foundries and machine shops.....	10% to 20%	78,000
Connecticut, textiles.....	5% to 10%	20,000
Colorado, miners....	10% to 25%	24,000
Hawaii, sugar laborers.....	20%	40,000
Illinois, packing houses and stock yards.....	10% (est.)	75,000
Indiana, foundries, etc....	10%	11,500
Maine, paper and textiles....	5% to 10%	9,000
Maryland, foundries, etc....	15% to 25%	6,000
Maryland, longshoremen....	10% (est.)	4,000
Massachusetts, textiles.....	10% (av.)	180,000
Massachusetts, foundries and machine shops.....	10% to 15%	30,000
Michigan (miscellaneous)...	10%	14,000
Missouri (various).....	10% (av.)	50,000
Montana, miners, etc....	10% (av.)	50,000
New Hampshire, textiles.....	5% to 10%	48,000
New Jersey, textiles, metals, transportation, etc.....	10% to 15%	50,000
New York, building trades.....	10% upwards	26,000
New York, clothing.....	10% upwards	49,000
New York, metals, etc....	10% to 20%	30,000
New York, transportation.....	5% to 15%	30,000
Ohio, automobiles....	10% to 15%	17,000
Ohio, foundries, etc.....	10% to 15%	20,000
Ohio, iron and steel....	10%	41,700
Oregon (miscellaneous)....	10% up	5,000
Pennsylvania, clothing, hats and textiles.....	10% (av.)	20,000
Pennsylvania, iron and steel, etc.	10% to 15%	105,000
Pennsylvania, coal mining....	5% to 15%	310,000
Pennsylvania, transportation, etc.	10% (av.)	18,000
Rhode Island, textiles.....	10% (av.)	25,000
Wisconsin, machine shops....	10% to 12%	12,000
Interstate Companies—		
Coke works.....	5%	18,000
Iron and Steel....	10%	412,000
Paper.....	10%	6,500
Railroads.....	7% to 10%	35,000
Textiles.....	5% up	35,000

Of 1,486 instances of wage increases cited in the press publications consulted by the Labor Department, 493 cases in which the number of employees affected is given show a total of 1,901,000 wage earners. The entire 1,486 wage increases listed are estimated to affect upwards of 5,000,000 men with an increase of \$300,000,000 in wages.

The above list, however, serves chiefly as an index of the general wage movement which has reached every State and industry of the Union. It shows that our phenomenal prosperity is fully shared, under the new laws and administration based on Democratic principles, by the great army of American labor. **DECREASE OF HOURS AND INCREASE OF WAGES HAVE BEEN THE RULE UNDER DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT.** The pessimistic predictions of Republican oratory have been exploded and disproved by the experience of 20,000,000 wage earners.

Our industrial census is taken only once in five years, and so in working out an annual statement of the volume of wages paid we have an official report for only each fifth year, and for the intermediate years must work out an approximate estimate based on the percentage of average annual increase.

Fortunately, for this purpose, the census of manufactures for 1915, based on the returns of 1914, are so nearly complete that the approximate totals may be closely estimated. Consequently, using the wage volume totals for 1909 and 1914 as a basis, we may work out on a percentage basis the approximate totals for the intermediate years between 1909 and 1914.

For 1915 and 1916, conservative estimates based on data common to general knowledge may be applied, as compiled by the Labor Department for many industries from the daily and financial press.

THE FOUR YEAR GAIN.

In the estimates which follow, the total wage volume paid in the manufacturing industries in 1915 is conservatively estimated as 10 per cent. greater than in 1914; the increase being principally due to the greater number of wage earners employed. For 1916 the most conservative estimate that can be intelligently made is a 10 per cent. increase in the number of people employed and a further 10 per cent. increase in the rate of wages. It is quite probable that 12 per cent. to 15 per cent. increase in both number employed and in wage rate would be nearer the mark.

On the above plan the annual averages, both for number of wage earners employed in the manufacturing industries and for volume of wages paid, for the years 1909 inclusive, as follows:

UNDER WILSON ADMINISTRATION.			UNDER TAFT ADMINISTRATION.		
	Number Wage Earners	Total Wages		Number Wage Earners	Total Wages
1916..	8,500,000	\$5,320,000,000	1912..	6,900,000	\$3,760,000,000
1915..	7,800,000	4,400,000,000	1911..	6,800,000	3,640,000,000
1914..	7,100,000	4,000,000,000	1910..	6,700,000	3,520,000,000
1913..	7,000,000	3,880,000,000	1909..	6,600,000	3,400,000,000
Total four years. \$17,600,000,000			Total four years. \$14,320,000,000		

On the above basis, the total volume of wages paid in the manufacturing industries for the years 1913-16 under present

laws and administration will exceed four years of Taft by over \$3,000,000,000.

PAY INCREASES MAY 1, 1916

INCREASES of pay for the workers of particular trades and concerns effective May 1 last were reported in many newspapers. The accompanying table is taken from the CHICAGO TRIBUNE (Rep.) of April 30.

It shows for these particular trades and concerns alone a YEARLY INCREASE OF PAY AGGREGATING \$64,426,464.

Concern.	Men Affected.	Increase Monthly Pay Roll.
Bethlehem Steel Company....	24,000	\$170,000
Overland Auto Company.....	18,000	1,250,000
Butte miners and Smelter men....	14,000	189,000
Anaconda miners.....	5,000	8,290
Portland and Coeur d'Alene district miners.....	3,000	3,000
United States Steel (Gary).....	7,000	58,800
Chicago Packing Houses.....	25,000	210,000
Hart Schaffner & Marx.....	10,000	70,000
Allis-Chalmers Co., Milwaukee.....	2,000	16,800
Milwaukee teamsters.....	600	4,200
Wisconsin Paper Mills, granted eight-hour day (6,000 men).		
St. Louis brewers.....	5,000	30,000
St. Louis machinists.....	500	5,600
St. Louis bakers granted shorter hours, slight increase in pay.		
Ohio Electric Railway	1,000	5,000
United States Steel Corporation.....	250,000	1,660,000
Columbus, Ohio, Street Car Company..	700	2,700
Youngstown, Ohio, steel workers.....	20,000	150,000
Cincinnati building trades.....	14,000	17,400
Toledo carpenters.....	300	210
Toledo electricians.....	200	2,072
Fall River cotton operatives.....	30,000	168,000
New Bedford cotton operatives.....	25,000	140,000
American Woolen Company.....	30,000	125,000
Providence India Rubber Company....	3,500	19,600
Rhode Island cotton operatives.....	6,000	33,600
Philadelphia carmen.....	6,200	22,600
Omaha railway clerks, St. Paul.....	300	3,000
Pittsburgh district coal miners.....	40,000	215,000
Youngstown sheet and tube workers, Republic Iron and Steel Company, and other West Virginia and Eastern Ohio steel companies.....	30,000	125,000
West Virginia coal miners.....	20,000	98,000
Other Pennsylvania steel workers....	100,000	275,000
Cleveland building and metal workers..	20,000	291,000
TOTALS.	706,500	\$5,368,872

AMOUNT OF INCREASES YEARLY, \$64,426,464.

U. S. SHOWS LOWEST RISE IN LIVING COST

Americans Buy Cheaper and Get More For the Money Than In Any Country on the Globe

AMERICAN prices since the beginning of the European war, July 31, 1914, have ruled far lower than the foreign world level. The United States in 1916 stands among nations as the country where living is the most reasonable in price and the highest in quality.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor finds that the relative average price for all American food products at retail was 107 in April, 1916, as compared with 95 in April, 1914. This is an increase of 12 points, or 12.6 per cent during nearly two years of the war.

But (the report continues), "ON MAY 1 THE INCREASE IN THE RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD IN GREAT BRITAIN SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR WAS 55 PER CENT!"

The average increase in the British cost of living, measured by retail food prices, therefore, has been four times the American increase; and the British have been the most favored of all belligerent European nations because of their command of the sea with their navy and merchant marine and their consequent freedom of the markets of the world in the purchase of food supplies.

German prices are available only on meat and provisions, and the increases on these products have ranged from 100 per cent to 200 per cent; while in Austria the increases have climbed to 500 per cent.

Among the neutral countries, perhaps the most favored during the war period are the Scandinavian nations by reason of their great merchant fleets and the enterprise of their merchants and seamen. Here is the Labor Department report on prices in Norway:

"In Norway prices of 27 household necessities were 63 per cent higher in February, 1916, than in 1911."

In Christiania the average for all prices compared with 1914 was higher by 34 per cent. In Stockholm, 1915 prices were 23 per cent over 1913. For Sweden as a whole, salt herring was 73.9 per cent and beans 123.9 per cent higher. In Zurich, Switzerland, oatmeal had risen 138 per cent. In the Netherlands, butter was higher by 128 per cent. In Italy, even macaroni and spaghetti had risen 32.6 per cent. In Vienna, forequarter beef, which before the war was worth 6c to 16c per pound, had risen to as high as 48c, and pork costs the housekeeper 40c to 55c.

Doubtless the most dependable index of average prices,

however, as measuring the foreign cost of living level, is that compiled by the British Board of Trade Labor Gazette, and the United States Department of Labor summarizes this official report as follows:

“On May 1 the average increase in the retail prices of food in Great Britain since the beginning of the war may be put at 55 per cent, according to the Board of Trade Labor Gazette for May.”

Price is relative, and is a measure of supply and demand. In staple commodities of general world consumption, where, in a free market, world conditions govern prices, we may say that the price in a given country is high or low in proportion as it differs from the world level. On that basis, which is the basis not only of economics but of modern business, American prices during the past two years of the European war have been low.

They have been enough lower than the world level to pay exorbitant transportation and commission charges on \$2,600,000,000 worth of American manufactured goods and \$4,350,000,000 of American products all told from American mills and mines, farms and factories, to Europe and all other foreign markets on the seven seas.

Consider how radically the reverse of this position was that which prevailed under the high protective tariffs and other artificial barriers—notably the trust agreements of the era of trust organization, 1896-1912—of the days of Republican Administration.

Under Republican tariff protection of trusts against foreign competition, American consumers were taxed \$2,500,000,000 per annum in extra prices over and above the prices at which the tariff beneficiaries sold goods in foreign markets.

The average American family spending \$1,000 a year for living expenses paid \$100 as tribute to tariff beneficiaries.

Machinists' hammers which were \$6.60 per dozen for American mechanics were quoted at \$5 for export. A baby carriage was \$12.70 for an American mother and \$9.50 for export. The family meat chopper was quoted at \$1.87 for an American home and 93c for foreign sale; and so on down the Republican tariff protected list.

Take note of this—THERE IS NOT A SINGLE PRODUCT OF AMERICAN MILLS AND FACTORIES THAT IS NOT SOLD ABROAD TODAY UNDER DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION AT PRICES 10 PER CENT TO 50 PER CENT ABOVE THE AMERICAN PRICE LEVEL; WHEREAS, UNDER REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION THERE WAS SCARCELY A PRODUCT OF AMERICAN MANUFACTURE ON WHICH THE TARIFF BENEFICIARIES DID NOT CHARGE AMERICAN CONSUMERS 10 PER CENT TO 50 PER CENT MORE THAN THEY SOLD THE SAME GOODS FOR ABROAD.

FARMERS GAIN BILLION A YEAR UNDER WILSON

Increases in Value of all Agricultural Products Average Ten per Cent— Rural Wages Climb, too— Foreign Trade a Cause

UNDER Democratic administration and laws the farmers of the United States realize \$1,000,000,000 more per annum and add that much more to the Nation's income than they did under Republican laws and administration.

In 1915 the value of the American farm crops and livestock products reached \$10,500,000,000, as against \$9,300,000,000 in 1912, a gain of \$1,200,000,000—notwithstanding Republican prediction that Democratic rule would ruin the farmer and the prices of his products.

This marked gain is all the more notable in view of the fact, that the war in Europe cut off the foreign market for 30% of the exportable surplus of the American cotton crop and reduced the price from 12.5c. per pound in 1913 to 7.3c. in 1914 and 11.2c. in 1915, and also caused a heavy shrinkage in the 1915 acreage, thereby producing a 30% shrinkage in production, and a shrinkage in aggregate value of approximately \$300,000,000.

Despite the unfavorable conditions abroad, affecting the great cotton crop, the steady upward march of American farm production and values under Democratic laws and administration exhibits the following favorable record, as estimated by the U. S. Department of Agriculture:

Under Democratic Administration.		Republican Administration.	
Years.	Value Total Farm Product.	Years.	Value Total Farm Product.
1915	\$10,501,686,000	1912	\$9,342,790,000
1914	9,984,961,000	1911	8,819,175,000
1913	9,849,513,000	1910	9,037,391,000
Three Years \$30,336,160,000		Three Years \$27,199,356,000	

**THREE-YEAR TOTAL UNDER DEMOCRATIC
ADMINISTRATION EXCEEDS THREE-YEAR
REPUBLICAN TOTAL BY \$3,136,804,000**
**AVERAGE DEMOCRATIC YEAR EXCEEDS
AVERAGE REPUBLICAN YEAR BY \$1,045,600,000**

The wages of farm laborers have increased as follows:

Average for four years under Taft:

With board.....	per month	\$20.05
Without board.....	do.....	23.32

Average for three years under Wilson:

With board.....	do.....	21.23
Without board.....	do.....	30.11

FARM PRICES

The following condensed summary of official prices as compiled by the U. S. Department of Agriculture may interest those who wish to make a detailed comparison on leading commodities:

The average farm value of wheat on Dec. 1 was 98.6c. in 1914 and 92c. in 1915, as compared with 76c. in 1912.

The average farm value of corn on Dec. 1 was 64.4c. in 1914 and 57.5c. in 1915, compared with 48.7c. in 1912.

The average farm value of oats on Dec. 1 was 43.8c. in 1914 and 36.1c. in 1915, as compared with 31.9c. in 1912.

The average farm value of barley on Dec. 1 was 54.3c. in 1914 and 51.7c. in 1915, as compared with 50.5c. in 1912.

The July 1 price of Ohio fine unwashed wool at Boston was 30c. @ 31c. in 1916 as against 22c. @ 24c. in 1912—an increase of 8c. against Republican claims that the American wool grower could prosper only under the Payne tariff law.

The July 1 price of best tub-washed wool at St. Louis was 47c. @ 48c. in 1916, as against 35c. in 1912—a 12c. gain which gives the lie to Republican political claims.

The July 1 price of live hogs at Chicago was \$9.75 @ \$10 per 100 against \$7.40 @ \$8.20 in 1912—a gain of 30%.

In short, whereas the Republican party for a generation buncoed and bamboozled the farmer in order to secure his vote in putting over tariff, currency and other laws for the benefit of Wall Street and its industrial and financial trusts, the Democratic party—through just tariff and income tax laws, an efficient banking and currency system which looks after the people against the favored financial centers, and, moreover, by a firm and wise foreign policy which has kept the United States out of war—has given the American farmer the greatest prosperity, the best prices, the best home and foreign markets, the lowest interest rates, and the only true protection from predatory interests that he has enjoyed in American history.

TEXTILE INDUSTRY'S MARVELLOUS GROWTH

Huge Export Business Under the Underwood Tariff Without Parallel in History of U. S.

FOR the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, domestic exports of textile manufactures from the United States approximate \$171,000,000. (U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.) In 1915, they were \$101,000,000, and in 1913, the last fiscal year of the Payne tariff, they were only \$60,000,000.

The increase in textile exports for 1915 over 1913 was \$41,000,000, or 68 per cent. The increase of 1916 over 1915 is \$70,000,000, or nearly 70 per cent. The increase of 1916 over 1913 is \$111,000,000, or 185 per cent.

UNDER REPUBLICAN TARIFF ACTS, WITH THEIR HEAVY TARIFF TAXATION OF WOOL, THERE WAS NO EXPORTATION OF AMERICAN WOOLEN GOODS, EXCEPT A LITTLE WEARING APPAREL AND WOOLEN RAGS.

This was flagrantly true under the Payne-Aldrich tariff. There had been scattering exports of wool goods under the Dingley tariff in 1909; for example, \$66,653 worth of carpets, \$13,786 worth of dress goods, and \$49,351 worth of flannels and blankets. In the last three years of the Payne tariff—1911, 1912 and 1913—those pages of the Department of Commerce reports were blank. In their place, in 1913, stood the item—a strange commentary upon the American woolen industry—27,774,332 pounds of “woolen rags” valued at \$923,184.

In 1916, under the provisions of the Underwood law, with its free wool schedule followed by enormous importations of raw wool from Argentina and Australia, exports of American woolen goods aggregate \$54,000,000, as against \$4,000,000, the Republican high tariff record.

AT THE SAME TIME, AMERICAN WOOL GROWERS ARE ENJOYING RECORD PROSPERITY WITH DOMESTIC WOOL AT 50 PER CENT. ABOVE THE RULING PRICES OF 1910-13 UNDER THE PAYNE TARIFF; AND SHEEP FLOCKS ARE INCREASING. The foreign wool needed for mixing purposes in manufacture makes a market for additional quantities of the American product. Thus, not only the manufacturer and textile workers, but the farm producer and the general consumer, profit from the development of the wool manufacturing industry through importation of free wool.

The movement of American woolen goods to foreign markets began with the first year of the Underwood law. Eliminating from consideration the items of “wearing apparel” and “woolen rags,” which had prominence in the Commerce

Department report in Republican days, the remaining item "all other" increased from \$1,099,996 in 1913 to \$1,668,199 in 1914 and \$16,829,617 in 1915.

The free materials provided for in the Underwood tariff law built the foundation of industrial preparedness on which American manufactures have stood and from which they have made successful conquest of textile markets both at home and abroad during the past two years. To-day they find themselves not only secure in the possession of the home market but branching out with a great export trade of \$170,000,000 into the markets of the world—markets from which a narrow Republican philosophy for half a century has excluded them.

NOT ONLY ARE AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS AND THEIR SHAREHOLDERS TO-DAY REAPING GOOD PROFITS FROM BOTH HOME AND FOREIGN TRADE, BUT THEY ARE SHARING THEIR PROSPERITY WITH AMERICAN LABOR BY DECLARING WAGE INCREASES WHICH AFFECT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WAGE EARNERS.

THE SOUL OF THE FLAG.

THE FLAG of the United States has not been created by rhetorical sentences in declarations of independence and in bills of rights. It has been created by the experience of a great people, and nothing is written upon it that has not been written by their life. It is the embodiment, not of a sentiment, but of a history, and no man can rightly serve under that flag who has not caught some of the meaning of that history. * * *

You do not create the meaning of a national life by any literary exposition of it, but by the actual daily endeavors of a great people to do the tasks of the day and live up to the ideals of honesty and righteousness and just conduct. And as we think of these things, our tribute is to those men who have created this experience. * * * They have shown us the way. They have not been afraid to go before. They have known that they were speaking the thoughts of a great people when they led that great people along the paths of achievement. There was not a single swashbuckler among them. They were men of sober, quiet thought, the more effective because there was no bluster in it. They were men who thought along the lines of duty, not along the lines of self-aggrandizement.—President Wilson's Address at Flag Day Exercise, Washington, D. C., June 14, 1915.

PROSPERITY KNOCKERS KNOCKED BY PROSPERITY

Bank Clearings of 137 Communities Annihilate the Misrepresentations of Republican Candidate Hughes

"We are living in a fools' paradise"—a sectional and temporary prosperity "created by the abnormal conditions incident to the war."—Charles Evans Hughes.

BELOW is the complete official list of the 137 clearing house cities, with a four-year comparison of business growth by cities, by geographic sections, and for the nation. Every intelligent voter, whether banker or workingman, professional man or merchant, manufacturer or farmer, who runs down this list, will admit that this prosperous growth is not sectional but represents the business development of every section of the United States; is not in any respect "a fools' paradise" created "by the war"; is not dependent on abnormal or war conditions.

Geographically the section of the United States which has shown the greatest percentage of four-year growth of bank clearings—which are the generally accredited barometer of business volume—is represented by the 12 clearing house cities of St. Louis, Kansas City, Houston, Fort Worth, Galveston, St. Joseph, Wichita, Austin, Oklahoma, Topeka, Tulsa and Muskogee, which report \$5,810,465,000 of bank clearings for the first six months of 1916 against \$3,832,662,000 in 1912—an increase of 51.6 per cent. This is a section which is not a producer of war munitions, yet the most favored of all.

Perhaps the most remarkable gain of all, in view of the effects of European war in transferring Pacific shipping to the Atlantic, is the 15.3 per cent. expansion of the clearings volume of the 15 clearings centers of the Far West.

THE "GARDEN OF EDEN."

To find the Garden of Eden of this "fool's paradise" it is a close choice between Tulsa, Oklahoma and Fargo, North Dakota, both of which exhibit over 300 per cent. increase in 1916 bank clearings over 1912. These are the towns most profoundly affected by the prosperity "created by the abnormal conditions incident to the war."

How impartially the goddess of "temporary prosperity" has distributed her honors with respect to American geography is shown by the following percentages of clearings growth: Oklahoma City, 123.5 per cent.; Detroit, 93.3 per cent.; Richmond, Cleveland and Toledo, 85 per cent. to 90

per cent.; Kansas City, Waterloo, Hartford and Youngstown, 65 per cent. to 70 per cent.; Duluth, Helena, Muscogee and Philadelphia, 50 per cent. to 60 per cent.; New York, New Haven, Des Moines and Columbus, Ohio, 40 per cent. to 50 per cent.; Minneapolis, St. Paul, Buffalo, Fall River, Dayton, New Bedford, Reading, Trenton and Sioux City, 30 per cent. to 40 per cent.; Chicago, San Francisco and Denver, 25 per cent. to 30 per cent.; Boston, Chattanooga, Charleston, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Louisville, Pittsburgh and St. Joseph, 15 per cent. to 25 per cent.

The complete six months' record by cities and geographic divisions, as reported by Bradstreet's for 1916 and 1912, follows:

**BANK CLEARINGS AT 137 CITIES FOR SIX MONTHS,
1916 AND 1912**

(As reported by Bradstreet's)

Clearing Houses	1916	1912	Increase % for 1916
Boston....	\$5,269,957,780	\$4,601,427,859	
Providence.....	248,509,600	218,958,700	
Hartford.....	204,494,508	124,876,184	
New Haven....	110,492,788	77,068,289	
Worcester....	92,733,019	68,543,206	
Springfield....	108,290,941	67,592,453	
Portland....	60,138,201	56,717,264	
Fall River....	40,951,917	30,218,440	
New Bedford....	34,858,909	25,680,046	
Holyoke....	22,207,135	16,719,423	
Lowell....	25,139,421	14,531,053	
Total, New England	\$6,217,774,219	\$5,302,332,917	17.7%
New York.....	\$72,718,469,895	\$50,136,208,589	
Philadelphia....	6,099,409,491	3,982,737,314	
Pittsburg....	1,641,605,340	1,351,240,156	
Buffalo....	367,767,763	273,125,221	
Albany....	125,986,574	150,383,764	
Rochester....	151,916,106	123,049,850	
Scranton....	80,334,392	70,650,324	
Syracuse.....	84,219,352	64,551,285	
Trenton.....	57,760,409	44,157,619	
Reading....	58,252,834	43,881,425	
Wilmington....	71,915,958	40,118,291	
Harrisburg....	47,915,288	not given	
Wilkes-Barre....	44,376,649	36,946,767	
Erie....	33,414,560	24,141,444	
York....	25,946,422	25,752,110	
Binghamton....	21,438,600	15,621,100	
Chester....	29,462,722	14,895,829	
Lancaster....	53,011,507	42,507,727	
Total, Middle. . .	\$81,713,203,872	\$56,439,968,815	44.7%

I have found that the flame of moral judgment burned just as bright in the man of humble life and limited experience as in the scholar and the man of affairs. And I would like his voice always to be heard.—Woodrow Wilson.

Clearing Houses	1916	1912	Increase % for 1916
Cincinnati... ..	\$842,390,750	\$693,275,350	
Cleveland... ..	1,010,557,177	537,708,746	
Detroit... ..	992,936,453	521,681,001	
Louisville... ..	474,754,496	380,608,237	
Indianapolis... ..	264,375,501	217,388,780	
Columbus... ..	230,394,000	158,093,500	
Toledo... ..	222,534,594	118,640,133	
Grand Rapids... ..	105,519,351	79,979,464	
Evansville... ..	44,570,999	58,396,144	
Dayton... ..	79,242,208	55,802,323	
Akron... ..	93,003,000	44,314,200	
Youngstown... ..	64,762,872	36,784,911	
Canton... ..	62,844,691	32,177,960	
Fort Wayne... ..	36,304,718	28,443,700	
Lexington... ..	21,810,614	27,419,669	
Kalamazoo... ..	not given	19,363,680	
Springfield... ..	25,418,250	14,297,551	
South Bend... ..	21,927,455	14,375,986	
Jackson... ..	20,704,455	13,611,978	
Mansfield... ..	16,779,864	11,183,446	
Ann Arbor... ..	8,480,421	4,926,081	
Total, Western... ..	\$4,639,311,869	\$3,068,472,840	51.2%
Chicago... ..	\$9,551,654,132	\$7,539,682,426	
Minneapolis... ..	641,746,664	487,759,787	
Omaha... ..	565,545,030	416,096,983	
Milwaukee... ..	482,986,356	358,435,945	
St. Paul... ..	376,073,624	272,574,753	
Des Moines... ..	167,688,000	116,799,000	
Duluth... ..	113,907,206	75,145,961	
Peoria... ..	94,447,318	83,431,390	
Sioux City... ..	107,546,705	78,547,798	
Lincoln... ..	75,233,748	43,915,986	
Davenport... ..	50,428,546	41,326,020	
Cedar Rapids... ..	47,192,454	37,136,504	
Waterloo, Iowa... ..	60,907,000	34,445,527	
Springfield, Ill... ..	37,478,410	30,944,322	
Rockford... ..	27,880,451	22,514,643	
Quincy, Ill... ..	24,646,210	18,656,144	
Bloomington... ..	21,763,025	19,431,806	
Sioux Falls... ..	33,748,313	13,549,265	
Decatur... ..	16,849,062	13,326,066	
Fargo, N. D... ..	44,373,338	9,901,433	
Fremont... ..	11,767,790	8,695,374	
Jacksonville... ..	8,540,334	8,008,636	
Total, Northwestern	\$12,562,403,716	\$9,730,325,769	29.1%
St. Louis... ..	\$2,458,829,787	\$1,981,812,106	
Kansas City... ..	2,103,968,578	1,283,764,766	
Fort Worth... ..	207,451,918	165,474,982	
St. Joseph... ..	242,053,000	201,669,082	
Wichita... ..	113,453,236	84,695,273	
Oklahoma... ..	85,562,951	38,278,721	
Topeka... ..	42,389,409	39,999,616	
Muskogee... ..	31,318,126	19,664,431	
Tulsa... ..	82,682,700	17,303,900	
Houston... ..	245,880,995	not given	
Galveston... ..	96,625,592	459,250,000	
Austin... ..	100,249,286	not given	
Total, Southwestern	\$5,810,465,578	\$3,832,662,877	51.6%

Sometimes I think that nothing is worth while that is not hard. You do not improve your muscle by doing the easy thing.—Woodrow Wilson.

Clearing Houses	1916	1912	Increase % for 1916
Baltimore.	\$1,107,227,696	\$935,372,612	
New Orleans.	592,218,733	518,700,908	
Atlanta.	414,708,108	342,863,596	
Richmond.	409,860,533	216,902,163	
Memphis.	192,065,000	196,676,850	
Washington.	238,680,983	202,947,604	
Nashville.	189,570,054	143,350,336	
Savannah.	129,060,204	137,246,966	
Macon.	84,517,545	94,987,152	
Norfolk.	116,274,622	89,816,752	
Jacksonville, Fla.	91,506,059	87,017,324	
Birmingham.	72,963,804	74,000,720	
Chattanooga.	73,263,641	60,318,153	
Augusta, Ga.	41,780,860	57,104,549	
Little Rock.	60,847,647	51,068,552	
Wheeling, W. Va.	70,209,919	49,978,243	
Charleston, S. C.	59,484,649	48,841,033	
Knoxville.	56,840,726	50,686,367	
Mobile.	28,056,056	36,253,244	
Columbia, S. C.	26,293,350	23,763,746	
Jackson, Miss.	15,772,949	12,540,711	
Vicksburg, Miss.	6,155,000	8,110,000	
Frederick, Md. . . . .	.. . . .	7,396,623	
Total, Southern.	\$4,087,323,814	\$3,445,944,204	18.6%
San Francisco.	\$1,543,226,460	\$1,278,140,825	
Los Angeles.	610,353,229	564,808,455	
Seattle.	350,348,000	284,371,652	
Portland, Ore.	284,771,195	289,759,505	
Denver.	301,096,741	233,625,587	
Salt Lake City.	216,630,531	195,756,034	
Spokane.	110,920,000	108,772,622	
Oakland, Cal.	104,805,033	95,181,406	
Tacoma.	54,208,747	65,801,795	
San Diego, Cal.	58,420,544	63,295,522	
Sacramento, Cal.	54,317,083	40,149,729	
Helena.	33,296,447	21,764,079	
Stockton, Cal.	30,942,937	20,247,321	
Boise, Idaho.	22,593,270	19,817,533	
Ogden, Utah.	25,785,062	16,161,921	
Total, Far Western.	\$3,801,715,279	\$3,297,653,986	15.3%
Grand total, United States.	118,832,198,407	85,117,361,408	39.6%

HARTFORD POST (Ind.), Sept. 2, 1915:

President Wilson to-day should be the happiest man in the world. A tremendous burden of anxiety has been lifted from his mind by the cordial and complete compliance of the German government with the demand of the United States for the maintenance of the rights of neutrals at sea in time of war.

Those of his fellow citizens, if any there were, who felt that he had been too exigent in his attitude toward the Germans in regard to their submarine warfare, now realize their error and those who so virulently charged him with lack of courage and of tact, are to-day utterly confounded and ridiculous. * * *

WILSON'S POLICY WELDS THE AMERICAS TOGETHER

Co-operation and Fair Dealing Establish Good Feeling and New and Profitable Trade Relations With Pan-American Republics

"BONDS OF COMMON INTEREST AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING."

(From the President's welcoming speech to the Pan-American Financial Conference, May, 1915.)

I AM sure that those who have this conference in charge have already made plain to you its purpose and its spirit. Its purpose is to draw the American Republic together by bonds of common interest and of mutual understanding; and we comprehend, I hope, just what the meaning of that is. There can be no sort of union of interest if there is a purpose of exploitation on the part of any person connected with a great conference of this sort. The basis of successful commercial intercourse is common interest, not selfish interest. It is an actual interchange of services and of values: It is based upon reciprocal and not selfish relations. It is based upon those things upon which all successful economic intercourse must be based, because selfishness breeds suspicion; suspicion, hostility; and hostility, failure.

BEFORE the Wilson Administration came into power Pan-Americanism was little more than a name. In spite of the efforts of the Pan-American Union, and in spite of the co-operation of previous Administrations, Pan-Americanism was more a theory than an actuality.

Almost at the beginning of his term of office, President Wilson outlined at Mobile, Alabama, the policy which, together with the creation of the International High Commission in January, 1916, has made Pan-Americanism a living reality. AND NOW, INSTEAD OF A HEMISPHERE IN WHICH LIVE NATIONS WHICH MIGHT AT ANY MOMENT SPRING ARMED AT EACH OTHER'S THROATS, THE FOUNDATION HAS BEEN LAID FOR AN INTERNATIONALISM SUCH AS MAY WELL DRAW ENVY FROM THE EYES OF EUROPEAN STATESMEN.

THE BROAD-MINDED AND FAR-SIGHTED POLICY OF THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION HAS BROUGHT ABOUT A NEW, A DIFFERENT AND A BETTER FEELING TOWARD THE UNITED STATES AMONG

THE REPUBLICS OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA. THE FORMER ATTITUDE OF DISTRUST HAS BEEN OVERCOME; MANY OBSTACLES, WHICH HITHERTO CLOGGED THE MACHINERY OF BUSINESS EXCHANGE, HAVE BEEN REMOVED; AND THE BASIS FOR LASTING AND PROFITABLE COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIPS HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. DECENT DIPLOMACY HAS TAKEN THE PLACE OF DOLLAR DIPLOMACY, AND THE "COMMUNITY OF INTEREST" BETWEEN THE THREE AMERICAS HAS BECOME MORE THAN AN EMPTY PHRASE. Following are some of the definite results:

BIG STRIDES FORWARD.

IMPROVED STEAMSHIP SERVICE AND PROMISE OF STILL BETTER TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES UNDER THE NEW SHIP PURCHASE ACT.

LARGE EXPANSION OF OUR SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICAN TRADE.

AFFIRMATION OF THE INTERESTS IN COMMON, BOTH POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL, OF ALL THE INDEPENDENT NATIONS OF NORTH, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

PLANS LAID TO MEET THE IMPERATIVE DEMAND FOR RELIABLE, FAST AMERICAN-OWNED STEAMSHIP SERVICE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE EAST AND WEST COASTS OF SOUTH AMERICA.

ESTABLISHMENT OF AMERICAN BRANCH BANKS IN BUENOS AIRES, RIO DE JANEIRO, SAO PAULO, SANTOS, MONTEVIDEO AND HAVANA.

AGREEMENT UPON A DEFINITE PLAN OF ARBITRATING COMMERCIAL DISPUTES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ARGENTINA.

"DOLLAR EXCHANGE" INITIATED, WHEREBY TRADE CAN BE CONDUCTED BY THE AMERICAN UNIT INSTEAD OF IN TERMS OF THE FRENCH FRANC, THE GERMAN REICHSMARK OR THE BRITISH POUND STERLING.

NEW PARCEL POST AND MONEY ORDER CONVENTIONS NEGOTIATED WITH BRAZIL AND ARGENTINE, THE TWO LARGEST OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES, WHICH BOTH ASSIST EXCHANGE OF SAMPLES AND AID FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS.

TREATIES CONCLUDED ESTABLISHING THE TWO-CENT LETTER RATE FROM THE UNITED STATES TO THE BAHAMAS, BARBADOES, BRITISH HONDURAS, DUTCH WEST INDIES AND THE LEEWARD ISLANDS.

NEGOTIATIONS BEGUN TO APPLY THE TWO-CENT LETTER POSTAGE THROUGHOUT THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

In his message to Congress in December, 1915, President Wilson defined Pan-Americanism when he said that,

THE STATES OF AMERICA ARE NOT HOSTILE RIVALS BUT CO-OPERATIVE FRIENDS, AND THAT THEIR GROWING SENSE OF COMMUNITY OF INTEREST, ALIKE IN MATTERS POLITICAL AND IN MATTERS ECONOMIC, IS LIKELY TO GIVE THEM A NEW SIGNIFICANCE AS FACTORS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND IN THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD. IT PRESENTS THEM AS IN A VERY DEEP AND TRUE SENSE A UNIT IN WORLD AFFAIRS, SPIRITUAL PARTNERS, STANDING TOGETHER BECAUSE THINKING TOGETHER, QUICK WITH COMMON SYMPATHIES AND COMMON IDEALS. SEPARATED, THEY ARE SUBJECT TO ALL THE CROSS CURRENTS OF THE CONFUSED POLITICS OF A WORLD OF HOSTILE RIVALRIES; UNITED IN SPIRIT AND PURPOSE THEY CANNOT BE DISAPPOINTED OF THEIR PEACEFUL DESTINY. THIS IS PAN-AMERICANISM. IT HAS NONE OF THE SPIRIT OF EMPIRE IN IT. IT IS THE EMBODIMENT, THE EFFECTUAL EMBODIMENT, OF THE SPIRIT OF LAW AND INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERTY AND MUTUAL SERVICE.

A VERY DIFFERENT FUTURE.

This message to Congress followed the invitation of the Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation Bill, which Mr. Wilson approved on March 4, 1915, and which gave him authority to ask the governments of Central and South America to attend what later became known as the Pan-American Financial Conference. But this Conference, and the subsequent creation of the permanent organization, known as the International High Commission, merely bore out the President's prophecy uttered, at Mobile when he said:

"THE FUTURE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, IS GOING TO BE VERY DIFFERENT FOR THIS HEMISPHERE FROM THE PAST. THESE STATES LYING TO THE SOUTH OF US, WHICH HAVE ALWAYS BEEN OUR NEIGHBORS, WILL NOW BE DRAWN CLOSER TO US BY INNUMERABLE TIES AND, I HOPE, CHIEF OF ALL, BY THE TIE OF A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF EACH OTHER."

The first Pan-American conference was held in Washington in 1889 and 1890. Up to the Wilson Administration there had been four Pan-American conferences. These conferences had had, in the opinion of students of Pan-Americanism, a great educational effect. At them many of the most important subjects which are now being considered by the International High Commission were discussed, and Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, Chairman of the United States section of the International High Commission, has paid hearty tribute to the work of these conferences. But, as Mr. McAdoo declared at the first meeting of the Commission, held at Buenos Aires in April, 1916:

THE NEW PAN-AMERICANISM.

A Mutual Guarantee of Independence and Territorial Integrity.

THE Monroe doctrine was proclaimed by the United States on her own authority. It always has been maintained and always will be maintained upon her own responsibility. But the Monroe doctrine demanded merely that European Governments should not attempt to extend their political systems to this side of the Atlantic. It did not disclose the use which the United States intended to make of her power on this side of the Atlantic. It was a hand held up in warning, but there was no promise in it of what America was going to do with the implied and partial protectorate which she apparently was trying to set up on this side of the water, and I believe you will sustain me in the statement that it has been fears and suspicions on this score which have hitherto prevented the greater intimacy and confidence and trust between the Americans. The States of America have not been certain what the United States would do with her power. That doubt must be removed. * * * These conferences have enabled me to foresee how it will be accomplished. It will be accomplished in the first place by the States of America uniting in guaranteeing to each other absolutely political independence and territorial integrity. In the second place, and as a necessary corollary to that, guaranteeing the agreement to settle all pending boundary disputes as soon as possible and by amicable process—by agreeing that all disputes among themselves, should they unhappily arise, will be handled by patient, impartial investigation and settled by arbitration; and the agreement necessary to the peace of the Americas, that no State of either continent will permit revolutionary expeditions against another State to be fitted out on its territory, and that they will prohibit the exportation of the munitions of war for the purpose of supplying revolutionists against neighboring Governments.—From President Wilson's Address at Pan-American Scientific Congress, at Washington, January 6, 1916.

IN SPITE OF THE HIGHLY EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THESE CONFERENCES, PRACTICAL RESULTS HAVE BEEN SMALL. AFTER TWENTY-FIVE YEARS WE HAVE SUBSTANTIALLY THE SAME PROBLEMS; THEY ARE STILL UNSOLVED; THEY REMAIN A CHALLENGE TO THE CONSTRUCTIVE INTELLIGENCE AND ENTERPRISE OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF

THE AMERICAN STATES. WHAT HAS BEEN THE CHIEF REASON FOR THIS FAILURE? THE ANSWER SEEMS CLEAR. NOT ONE OF THE CONFERENCES PERFECTED AN ACTIVE ORGANIZATION UNDER A CENTRAL DIRECTION TO CONTINUE THE WORK IN THE INTERVALS AND FIGHT UNREMITTINGLY FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH HAVE STOOD IN THE WAY OF THAT WHOLESOME AND EXTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS, COMMERCIAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL, FOREORDAINED AS THE DESTINY OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

FINANCIAL CONFERENCE BIG STIMULUS.

The steps by which this great result is now actually being attained are few but vitally significant. The first, as already stated, was the invitation to the Pan-American Financial Conference, extended by act of the Democratic Congress March 4, 1915. The second was the Conference itself, held in Washington during the last week of May, 1915. The third was the passage by the Democratic Congress on January 28, 1916, of a bill carrying out the recommendation of the Conference that there be established an International High Commission, to be composed of not more than nine members, resident in each country. The fourth was the appointment of the Commission, and the fifth was the meeting of the Commission itself at Buenos Aires as already recorded. These steps put Pan-Americanism, so to speak, on the map as a new entity in the world, an international organization which has no parallel on earth.

The first meeting of the Central Executive Council of the International High Commission was held in Washington on June 15. The names of the men constituting it are representative and non-partisan. The President is Secretary of the Treasury W. G. McAdoo; the Vice-President is Professor John Bassett Moore, the well known international lawyer and distinguished diplomat; the Secretary General is Dr. Leo S. Rowe. In addition to these, this first meeting was attended by Senator D. U. Fletcher, of Florida; Assistant Secretary of the Treasury A. J. Peters; Paul M. Warburg, of the Federal Reserve Board, and John H. Fahey, of Boston, former president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

From LA PRESNA, Buenos Aires:

"In the course of the last few years the high political tribune at Washington has become favorably inclined toward the Occidental hemisphere. Let us listen to the language of amity and solidarity, founded on mutual respect and the rights of all."

From MERCURIO, Valparaiso:

"It is just recognized that the policy of the United States has taken a new turn for the better during the last few years toward the American nations and has tried to attract them, inspiring them with confidence, with repeated declarations of deference and recognition of equality of rights, thus helping toward a union based on the community of interests, and President Wilson's recent message is a plain confirmation of this new ideal which meets with America's sympathy."

The following are some of the matters upon which the Commission is now at work:

I—The establishment of the gold standards; a Pan-American money of account; gold clearance funds under international guarantee.

II—Uniform legislation on negotiable instruments; the Hague Rules on Bills of Exchange and Checks; the United States uniform laws on bills of lading and warehouse receipts.

III—Unifority of classification of merchandise and of customs regulations and documents; improved sanitary conditions.

IV—Liberalization of regulations governing commercial travelers; and federalization of taxes imposed upon them.

V—Arbitration of commercial disputes; agreements between Chambers of Commerce.

VI—Ratification of conventions upon patents, trademarks and copyrights.

VII—Improved postal facilities; parcel post and money order conventions. Legislation governing telegraph rates and the operation of wireless telegraphic systems; improvement of telegraphic service. Improvement of maritime and railroad facilities between the Americans.

VIII—Improvement of the legal position of merchant creditors.

TRUE TO MONROE DOCTRINE.

The Pan-American policy of the Wilson Administration cannot be discussed without reference to the Monroe Doctrine and the Mexican situation. In his Mobile speech in 1913 the President gave new point to inter-American relations and made more convincing and clear than ever the attitude of the United States towards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere. It was on that occasion that President Wilson declared that the United States "will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest," a declaration which has been used to confound the imperialists who have been seeking to drive this Government into a war for the protection of property interests in Mexico. The friendly advice and assistance which the republics of South America offered in the early days of the Administration when the Ambassadors of Argentina, Brazil and Chile and the Ministers of Bolivia, Uruguay and Guatemala contributed to the effort to adjust the difficulties below the Rio Grande with due regard to the rights of the nations and the people of suffering Mexico.

THE SPIRIT OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION WHICH IS THE KEYNOTE OF PAN-AMERICANISM UNDER THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION, IS THE LOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES AND MOTIVES WHICH GUIDED PRESIDENT MONROE AND HIS ADVISERS IN THEIR FORMULATION OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE. At that time the newly independent United States of America feared European domination and control of the struggling little countries to

the south. The Monroe Doctrine, which already provided protection against the extension of European systems of government to any part of the American continent, has thus been enlarged so that it offers to our southern neighbors assurances against aggression on the part of the United States. Not only has this Government accepted the tender of friendly offices by some of the South American states in delicate matters of diplomacy, and thus established a new precedent, but suspicions have been destroyed and confidence has been created by Woodrow Wilson's suggestion to all the governments of Central and South America that the United States is willing to enter into treaties with them for mutual guarantees of territorial integrity and political independence. Outlining these plans to the National Education Association in New York early in July, Secretary McAdoo, speaking for the President, described this offer as "a noble expression of the unselfish purpose of the United States to maintain the principles of true democracy throughout the Western Hemisphere. With the territorial integrity and political independence of every American State secured against European interference, against aggression by the United States and aggression as between themselves, a glorious opportunity will be presented for the development of their resources and the growth of their civilization under the fructifying influences of established peace and friendship."

DURING THE LAST THREE AND A HALF YEARS WOODROW WILSON HAS BUILT A BASIS FOR A PROFITABLE COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE AMERICAS, AND HAS ESTABLISHED ON THAT BASIS A SOLID STRUCTURE WHICH WILL UNQUESTIONABLY ENDURE AS A PERMANENT MONUMENT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE ON THIS HEMISPHERE.

For many years the Republican Party has talked about the potential resources and riches of South and Central America and the great mutual advantages that would accrue to the entire hemisphere from closer intercourse between the United States and her sister republics. The Democratic Party has acted and given the country an effective and constructive program to accomplish the ends which the Republicans sought in futile talk. Secretary McAdoo's efficient grasp of the problems of practical Pan-Americanism and the energy with which he grappled with them have given to American business and American enterprise the greatest opportunity ever offered on this hemisphere.

From MANANA, Buenos Aires:

"President Wilson's message embodies a lofty conception of American politics and bears witness to the greatest elevation of mind, BECAUSE IT IS INSPIRED BY HONESTY. IT IS, THEREFORE, NECESSARY TO REJECT ALL APPREHENSION, ENTERTAINED BY A FEW, REGARDING THE SO-CALLED NORTH AMERICAN PERIL."

PAN-AMERICAN SALES REACH \$385,000,000.

It is not with Europe, but with the Pan-American nations, that the most vital and permanent trade gains of the United States are today being made under the direct and active commercial campaign of the Federal Government under the Wilson administration.

In fact, our total commerce with the Latin Americas for the year ending June 30, 1916, approximated an even billion dollars.

It is upon South and Central America and Cuba, that the United States depends for its great volume of raw materials, such as coffee, hides and wool, also for large supplies of sugar, cocoa, nitrates and ores, which alike are necessary to the expansion of our manufacturing industries and for general consumption.

The great tidal wave southward during the past year, however, shows itself in a tremendous expansion of the export trade.

Exports to South and Central America and the West Indies during the fiscal year just closed reached the huge total of \$385,000,000. The increase is 62 per cent. in one year.

Today the United States, under the Federal Reserve Act, has six branch banks in South America, one in Cuba and two at the Isthmus. We have commercial attaches and agencies in leading Pan-American ports. Our Government appropriations for promotion of this trade have been doubled and the Government energies through increased commercial agents have trebled. **AND THE RESULTS IN THE SINGLE YEAR SHOW OVER \$150,000,000 GAIN IN AMERICAN-MADE GOODS MARKETED IN LATIN AMERICA.**

Among leading articles of export are agricultural implements, automobiles, flour, all iron and steel products, coal, cotton goods, provisions, twine, machinery of all kinds, steel rails, boots and shoes, oils, lumber, furniture and an endless list of Yankee notions.

ARGENTINA BIG BUYER.

Argentina alone took of us in the year just closed \$3,300,000 worth of farm implements, \$2,200,000 of automobiles, \$2,300,000 of coal, \$1,500,000 of cotton cloth, \$1,900,000 of binder twine, \$6,000,000 or more of various steel products including machines, \$1,000,000 of boots and shoes and other leather goods, \$3,000,000 of oils, \$1,000,000 of news print paper, and \$2,000,000 of lumber and furniture.

Cuba takes \$6,725,000 of wheat flour, \$2,500,000 of automobiles, \$2,500,000 of railway cars, \$3,500,000 of coal, \$4,000,000 of cotton cloth, \$4,000,000 of machinery and steel products, \$5,500,000 of boots and shoes, \$6,000,000 of hog products, and \$3,000,000 of lumber.

Latin America buys over \$30,000,000 of American boots and shoes, and a far greater volume of iron and steel products; perhaps \$20,000,000 of cotton cloth, and \$25,000,000 or more each of wheat flour and machinery. But in the long list of American export productions which covers pages of the

Commerce reports, there is scarcely an article that does not find its way into the 20 Pan-American republics.

Moreover, the gain is not only in trade but in American shipping, American vessel tonnage engaged in the ocean carrying trade with Argentina, Brazil and Chile has trebled in a single year. American vessels clearing for the South American trade last year reached 1,000,000 tonnage, which was two-thirds of that of all foreign shipping nations.

THE CO-ORDINATION OF GOVERNMENT EFFORT WITH AMERICAN INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, BANKING AND SHIPPING HAS MADE TREMENDOUS STRIDES TOWARD THE COMMERCIAL UNION OF THE PAN-AMERICAS. WHAT THIS EVENTUALLY MEANS TO THE UNITED STATES MAY BE CONJECTURED, WHEN DIRECTOR-GENERAL JOHN BARRET OF THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION PREDICTS THAT WITHIN FIVE YEARS THE COMMERCE OF THE PAN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES WILL APPROXIMATE \$5,000,000,000, WHICH IS GREATER THAN OUR COMMERCE WITH EUROPE.

A PAN-AMERICAN FRANC.

(From the Providence, R. I., Journal, Repr.)

The brief reports by cable of the proceedings of the Pan-American conference at Buenos Aires mention the adoption of a resolution to establish a unit of money "of account" for the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Perhaps no action of the conference will turn out to be more interesting or important.

A common monetary unit as an instrumentality for promoting commerce among friendly disposed peoples has proved highly convenient in Europe. If the proposal of the Pan-American conference is accepted by the Governments of North and South America, the new unit will undoubtedly be equally useful in facilitating transactions. * * *

The unique Pan-American gold franc is a happy invention, holding forth much promise for friendly intercourse and expanding commerce.

BY FRANK A. VANDERLIP.

(*President, National City Bank, New York.*)

The Pan-American Financial Conference laid a foundation of inestimable value for the building of definite commercial and financial relations between the republics of North and South America. In the past, the lack of mutual understanding, which is so essential to political and business relations, has been an obstacle to really constructive, co-operative effort.

America, I have said, was reborn by the struggle of the Civil War, but America is reborn every day of her life by the purposes we form, the conceptions we entertain, the hopes that we cherish.—Woodrow Wilson.

MARSHALL, PROGRESSIVE, VS FAIRBANKS, REACTIONARY

Republican and Democratic Parties Offer Indiana Candidates For Vice - President Who Are In Vivid Political Contrast

Thomas R. Marshall, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, like Charles W. Fairbanks, has once been a Vice-President of the United States. But Marshall, unlike Fairbanks, is a candidate to succeed himself and is in no sense of the term a political afterthought of a standpat convention forced by necessity to secure a standpat running mate for the head of its ticket. Marshall's record in the four years during which he has presided over the Senate of the United States was such that his renomination was a foregone conclusion. Republicans and Democrats alike have combined to render him praise for his impartial and upright conduct in this high office, an office potentially as powerful as that of the Presidency itself.

The political associations of Mr. Fairbanks have always been with the reactionary Republicans. He has worked with the Hemenway ring of Old Guard standpat politicians in Indiana and with the Old Guard Bosses in national Republican affairs. The Old Guard machine in Indiana ran him for the Republican presidential nomination both in 1908 and 1916. The national Republican Bosses would have been delighted to have named him for the Presidency this year but they did not dare do so.

Unlike Mr. Fairbanks, Mr. Marshall has a record which should appeal to every democrat with a small "d"—as it appeals to every Democrat with a large "D." The Vice-President's life story is a typical American biography. It is the story of rise from the obscurity of a struggling country lawyer to the highest post within the gift of the people of his State, and thence to the next to the highest post within the gift of the people of the United States.

The first and only office ever sought by Mr. Marshall was that of prosecuting attorney, back in 1880. In this attempt he was defeated. Then, nearly thirty years later, in 1908, when the Democrats in Indiana were nearly in a hopeless minority, he was conscripted to stand as his party's candidate for the governorship.

Mr. Marshall's life has not been without its touch of romance. It was in the clerk's office of Steuben County, where he first went to try law cases, that he met the attractive young woman who is now Mrs. Marshall. She was Miss Lois

Minsey, daughter of the county clerk, who was a clerk in her father's office. Mr. Marshall soon discovered that the real "case" was in the clerk's office.

Mrs. Marshall is a woman of attractive personality. While as the wife of the Vice-President of the United States she conducts many brilliant social affairs, her real interest is also in her home, and that home, according to a recent visitor, is one "in which you feel you would like to sit down and stay for supper."

Human welfare was the guiding principle of Marshall's administration as Governor of Indiana. His service as Governor shows that he has initiated and stood behind laws which aimed at the social and physical betterment of the people of Indiana. Enacted by the Democratic Legislature during the session of 1911, at the instance of Governor Marshall, were the following important acts:

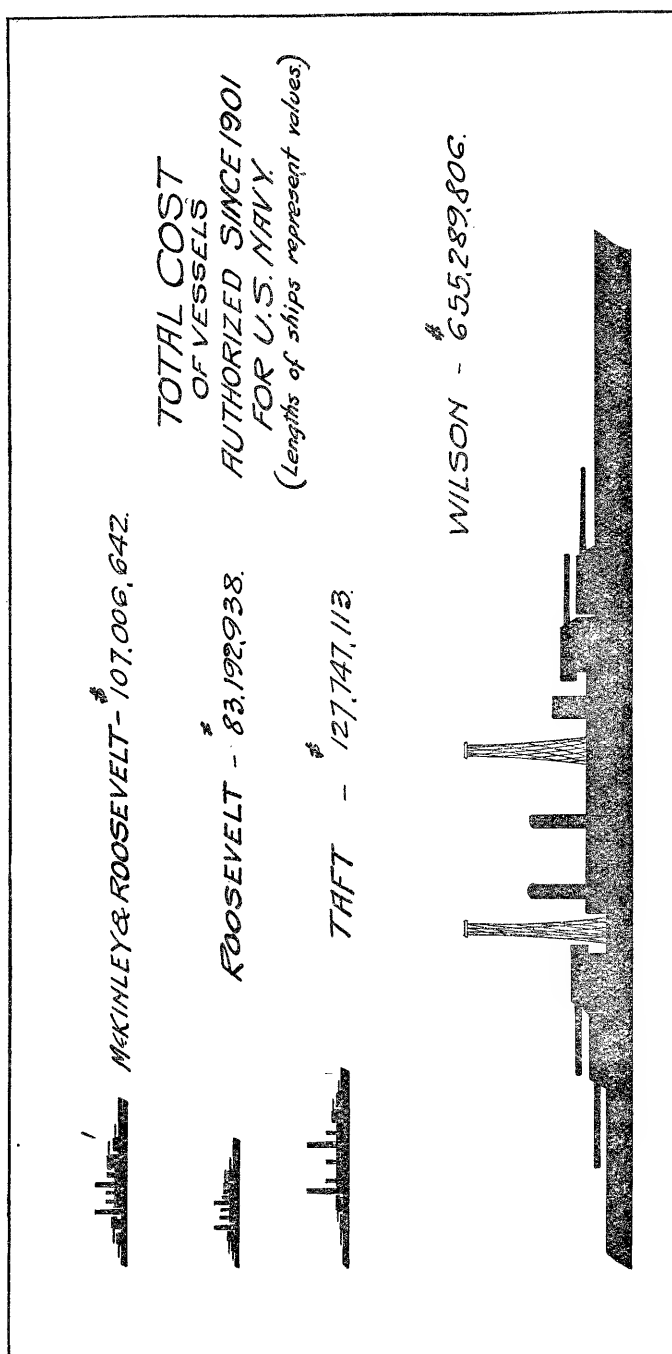
- To curtail child labor;
- To regulate the sale of cold storage products;
- To require hygienic schoolhouses and to permit medical examination of school children;
- To prevent blindness at birth;
- To regulate the sale of cocaine and other drugs;
- To provide free treatment for hydrophobia;
- To establish public playgrounds;
- To strengthen the pure food act;
- To protect against loan sharks;
- To provide police court matrons;
- To establish uniform weights and measures;
- To prevent traffic in white slaves;
- To permit night schools in cities;
- To investigate industrial and agricultural education;
- To require medical supplies as part of a train equipment, etc.

CHAMPION OF THE TOILERS.

THE following laws, intended to protect the toilers, were also championed by him:

- To create a bureau of inspection for factories, workshops, mines and boilers;
- To establish free employment agencies;
- To require full train crews;
- To require safety devices on switch engines;
- To provide efficient headlights on locomotives;
- To require inspection of locomotive boilers;
- To require standard cabooses;
- To require full switching crews;
- To require storm windows for locomotives;
- To provide a weekly wage; etc.

The Income Tax Amendment also was ratified at this session; also laws to prevent corrupt practices at elections and to provide for general registration of voters were enacted; block systems were made compulsory on railroads and electric railways; and a law to abolish the doctrine of assumed risk and fellow-servant doctrine and to regulate the contributory negligence defense was made as strong as the constitution of the state would permit.



THIS ILLUSTRATION SHOWS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC GENEROSITY TO THE NAVY.

THANKS TO DEMOCRATS AMERICA "PREPARES"

Democratic Efficiency Puts Through Constructive Program for National Defense

PREPARATION for national defense by land and sea, preparation adequate, sane and democratic—this sums up in a phrase the efficient accomplishment of President Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party controlling the 64th Congress.

Preparedness is no longer agitation. It is fact. It is written into the laws of the United States, in response to the overwhelming popular demands of the people thereof.

The program thus embarked upon is neither militarism nor pacifism. It is the strong and reasonable program of a great nation whose servant is a great political party. It is a program untouched by partisanship and weakened neither by pork, favoritism nor private interest.

In its essentials it is the program of the military and naval experts who in the past decade have been unable to secure performance from the Republicans. It recognizes for the first time the position of the United States as a world power, ready to meet aggression and ready to resent interference with the principles of real Americanism—not the Americanism of the privileged few, but the Americanism of the real Americans.

REGULAR ARMY 216,000.

Adequate preparedness and complete reorganization of the military and industrial resources of the nation have been made by the Wilson Administration in the Army Reorganization bill and in the Army Appropriation bill.* The completed program is the most comprehensive ever enacted by an American Congress. By the terms of it the peace strength of the Regular Army has been increased from a paper strength of 100,000 men to a peace strength of 216,000,

*President Wilson's veto of the Army Appropriation bill had solely to do with its revision of the Articles of War. Its repassage with all appropriations and other provisions probably will have taken place before the Text Book is issued.

THE PREPAREDNESS RECORD

ADEQUATE FUNDS.

Appropriations providing for the safety of the United States are:

Army	\$267,000,000
Navy	313,300,095
Fortifications.	25,748,000
Military Academy	2,238,000
Army and Navy Deficiency	27,558,000
Total appropriations.	\$635,844,095

SPECIAL ACHIEVEMENTS.

Complete Reorganization of Industrial Resources;

Regular Army increased from paper strength of 100,000 to peace strength of 216,000, capable of expansion in war times of 256,000;

National Guard Federalized and raised to peace strength of 467,000;

A Regular Army reserve, a National Guard reserve, an officer reserve corps, an enlisted reserve corps;

Generous provision for citizen training camps;

A Council of National Defence;

FOUR DREADNAUGHTS AND FOUR BATTLE CRUISERS (EIGHT CAPITAL SHIPS)—THE FIRST YEAR.

Twenty torpedo boat destroyers and thirty coast submarines with auxiliaries to be begun at once.

TEN BATTLE SHIPS—SIX BATTLE CRUISERS—TEN SCOUT CRUISERS—FIFTY TORPEDO BOAT DESTROYERS—NINE FLEET SUBMARINES—FIFTY-EIGHT COAST SUBMARINES AND AUXILIARIES BEFORE JULY 1, 1919.

capable of expansion in war times to **256,000**. The National Guard has been federalized and raised to a peace strength of **467,000**. A Regular Army reserve, a National Guard reserve, an officer reserve corps, and an enlisted reserve corps have been established. A reserve officer training corps has been created, and generous provisions for citizens training camps have been enacted. A Council of National Defense, which will prepare the industries of the country for readiness in time of a grave emergency, has been brought into being—an achievement of the greatest importance which must be counted as a failure on the part of previous Republican Administrations. The total appropriation in the Army bill was, in round figures, **\$267,600,000**, or materially less than **\$3.00** per capita for each inhabitant of the United States.

COMPLETE NAVAL REORGANIZATION.

Adequate preparedness and complete reorganization of the Naval resources of the nation have been made by the Wilson Administration in the Naval Appropriation Bill. By the terms of it the building program has been made permanent and consistent with the growing needs of the United States as a world sea power.

Four dreadnoughts and four battle cruisers, in all, eight capital ships, are to be built during the first year.

The enlisted strength of the Navy has been increased to 68,500 men, expansible during emergency to 87,000 men. Twenty torpedo boat destroyers, thirty coast submarines, together with auxiliaries, will be begun at once. The continuing program calls for the construction before the first of July, 1919, for 10 battleships, 6 battle cruisers, 10 scout cruisers, 50 torpedo boat destroyers, 9 fleet submarines, 58 coast submarines, and auxiliaries.

The naval militia has been federalized. The Naval Flying Corps has been put on a permanent basis.

CRITICS ARE OVERWHELMED.

Provisions have been made for scientific research and for coordinating the Navy with the industrial life of the country. Naval training cruises have been for the first time established. The achievements of the Naval Appropriation Bill are in the opinion of naval experts without regard for political party, of the greatest importance, and established the Democratic Administration's record for accomplishment so securely that Republican criticism has been reduced to the pettiest kind of carping.

The adequacy and efficiency with which the Democratic Party has met the military needs of the country is conclusively shown by the fact that, without exception, every national defense measure enacted by Congress during the last year received the practically unanimous support of Republicans as well as Democratic members of the House and Senate. The majority of these measures passed without a roll call. For example, there was no roll call in the House, when, on June 26th, it passed the Army Appropriation bill. There was no roll call in the Senate on this bill. The Hay Army Reorganization bill passed the House in March with two dissenting votes, one being cast by Representative Fred A. Britten of Illinois, a Republican, the other by Meyer London of New York, a Socialist. Otherwise all the Republican members of the House, including the loudest agitators for a large army, agreed to the Democratic program.

There were no roll calls in either House or Senate on the fortification bill, appropriating for the coast and other permanent defenses.

PREPAREDNESS FOR PEACE

Navy Act Directs President To Call World Conference to Consider Disarmament

DEMOCRATIC "Preparedness" includes preparation for permanent peace in the world. A plan is outlined for securing agreement among the great Powers to that end.

The President is specifically directed in the naval appropriation act to call a conference of the Powers after the European War ends to consider the large questions of a peace agreement and disarmament.

Should an agreement be secured, the President is authorized to suspend the carrying out of the greater-navy program. A large part of the enormous expenditures authorized by the navy act may thus be avoided.

The law declares it to be the hope of the United States to adjust and settle its international disputes through mediation and arbitration, to the end that war may be honorably avoided.

This government, the act reads, "looks with apprehension and disfavor upon a general increase of armament throughout the world, but it realizes that no single nation can disarm and that without a common agreement upon the subject every considerable power must maintain a relative standing in military strength."

Having enunciated this general policy, the Act extends an invitation to all the great governments of the world to participate in an international conference for the study of means whereby disarmament may be accomplished or at least limited. This conference is to be called by the President of the United States not later than the close of the European War.

To show its good faith, the United States, by act of Congress, further provides that a commission of nine citizens of the United States shall be appointed by the President to represent this government at the proposed conference and to lay before such conference the views of the American people upon the subject of arbitration and disarmament. The sum of \$200,000 is appropriated to pay the expenses of the American commission and to entertain the conference should it be held in the United States.

This body, the law says, "shall be charged with the duty of formulating a plan for a court of arbitration or other tribunal to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement, and to consider the question of disarmament and submit their recommendations to their government for approval."

When the navy bill passed the House for the first time on June 2, the roll call showed 360 yeas to 4 nays, 7 answering "present." Two of those who voted against the navy bill, Browning of New Jersey and Graham of Pennsylvania, are Republicans. Randall of California, the third who voted against the navy bill, is a Prohibitionist, and London, the fourth, is a Socialist. Among the seven who dodged by answering "present" Republican Minority Leader Jim Mann of Illinois was the most prominent. Four other Republicans joined Mann: Coleman of Pennsylvania, Moore of Pennsylvania, Nelson of Wisconsin, and Rogers of Massachusetts. Although the Democrats hold the majority in the House, but two Democrats, Tavenner of Illinois and Webb of North Carolina, answered "present."

On the final vote in the House on the conference report in the Naval Appropriation Bill, the yeas were 283, the nays 51. The democratic bill was passed with the vast majority of the Republican minority supporting it. Yet among the 15 Republicans who voted against the bill, were some of the Republican leaders in the House—Campbell of Kansas, Lenroot and Nelson of Wisconsin, Mondell of Wyoming, and Anderson of Minnesota. Any Republican criticism of the democratic bill must take these facts under consideration.

REPUBLICANS OPPOSE KAHN'S AMENDMENT.

On March 23 there was a vote in the House on the so-called "Kahn" amendment to the Hay bill. This amendment proposed to increase the size of the army from the original 140,000 to 220,000. A majority of Democrats and Republicans voted down this amendment. Among the prominent Republicans voting against it were Rodenberg of Illinois, Green and Woods of Iowa, Campbell of Kansas, La Follette of Washington, Esch of Wisconsin, and Mondell of Wyoming. There was no partisanship in this roll call.

Upon the question of appropriating \$11,000,000 to build or buy a factory for the manufacture of armor plate, there was a roll call March 21, in the Senate on what is known as the Tillman Armor Plate bill. To save money by breaking up the control of prices by the armor plate ring was the object. The opposition was led by Republican Senators, including Senator Oliver of Pennsylvania, who was charged on the floor of the Senate with being financially interested in the Steel Trust. The bill passed by 58 to 23, with 14 not voting. The 23 voting against the bill were all old guard Republicans--Gallinger, Curtis, du Pont, Lippitt, Lodge, Penrose, Smoot and Weeks. Eight Republicans voted with the Democratic majority--Borah of Idaho, Clapp of Minnesota, Cummins of Iowa, Kenyon of Iowa, Norris of Nebraska, Poin-

dexter of Washington, and Works of California. The Republican opposition was not, therefore, solid.

The progressive Republicans stood with the Democrats, and that simple fact tells its own story.

On July 21 the Senate passed the Navy bill by a vote of 71 to 8. Six of the 8 voting against the bill were Republicans. Such vigorous critics of the Wilson Administration as Lodge of Massachusetts, Gallinger of New Hampshire, Penrose of Pennsylvania, Smoot of Utah, and Weeks of Massachusetts, voted for this keystone measure of the Democratic preparedness programme. Criticism by the Republican party of the Democratic Naval program endorsed by Republicans in both House and Senate must take these facts into consideration.

DROPPED BACK UNDER TAFT.

Among the many offenses against the Navy with which the Democracy has been charged is the rather surprising one of responsibility for the loss of our superiority over the German navy, and the responsibility also for our lack of battle cruisers, which are now to be supplied. Both charges were made by the Republican minority in the House, and they also maintained that it was the aim of the Republican Administration to make us the second naval power in the world. It will be recalled that until December, 1911, the Democrats were in the minority in both the Senate and House, and for sixteen years the President had been a Republican.

The General Board of the Navy was requested recently by Congressman Butler of Pennsylvania, a Republican, to state how it was that the German navy obtained its superiority over ours; and taking displacement as a basis of comparison, the Board said: "Considering displacement of ships built, the United States advanced from third to second place in 1907 and dropped to third in 1911."

It should be borne in mind that the Democratic House did not meet in regular session until December, 1911. ON THE BASIS OF SHIPS BUILT, OUR POSITION WAS, THEREFORE, LOST WHILE THE REPUBLICANS WERE IN ABSOLUTE CONTROL OF THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

"Considering displacements of ships built and building," said the General Board, "the United States advanced from third place to second place in 1909, held this place for a short time only, AND DROPPED TO THIRD PLACE AGAIN IN THE SAME YEAR, 1909."

The basis of ships built and building is a more accurate index to naval strength than the basis of ships built only, for, as the case at point illustrates, a nation can be superior to another, and by building little while that other nation builds much, lose its superiority in a very short time. And on the basis of ships built and building, we held second place "for only a short time and dropped to third place again in the same year, 1909," two years before the Democratic House

entered office, and four years before the Administration and Senate became Democratic.

During Mr. Roosevelt's four years, when the world began to build dreadnaughts, the United States authorized six capital ships, the German program authorized thirteen, including battle cruisers; leaving us a deficiency of seven. In Mr. Taft's first two years we authorized four capital ships, the German program authorized seven, leaving us a deficiency of three. Taking the six years together, we authorized ten capital ships to Germany's twenty. There is not much evidence here of any determination on the part of the Republican administrations to build a navy superior to Germany's. In those six years the General Board had in mind the construction of a navy superior to Germany's, and it recommended the construction of twenty battleships, the same number the Germans authorized. We authorized ten. The General Board was certainly not the author of our program. Who was?

ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGES CONVICT HIM.

The answer is found in President Roosevelt's messages to Congress for 1905 and 1906. He recommended the following in his message of December 3, 1906:

"I do not ask that we continue to increase our Navy. I ask merely that it be maintained at its present strength
****.

"This can be done by a well-settled program of providing for the building each year of at least one first-class battleship equal in size and speed to any that any nation is at the same time building; the armament presumably to consist of as large a number as possible of very heavy guns of one caliber, together with smaller guns to repel torpedo attack; while there should be heavy armor, turbine engines, and in short, every modern device. Of course, from time to time, cruisers, colliers, torpedo-boat destroyers and torpedo boats, will have to be built also. All this, be it remembered, would not increase our navy, but would merely keep it at its present strength."

December 5, 1905, President Roosevelt said in his annual message:

"It does not seem to me necessary, however, that the navy should—at least in the immediate future—be increased beyond the present number of units. What is now clearly necessary is to substitute efficient for insufficient units as the latter become worn out or as it becomes apparent that they are useless. Probably the result would be attained by adding a single battleship to our Navy each year, the superseded or outworn vessels being laid up or broken up as they are thus replaced."

It was in accordance with these recommendations that the United States at the outset of a new era in battleship construction, adopted the standpat policy by which we were doomed to lose our position as second naval power.

It was in accordance with President Roosevelt's suggestion that Congress in 1906, and again in 1907, authorized

only one battleship, while in 1906 the General Board recommended three, and in 1907, two. It was in accordance with the policy enunciated by Secretary Meyer, under Taft, when, in his first report, he said: "Germany is now second among the principal naval powers in warship tonnage built and building. The United States is third," and recommended, "in order to keep the appropriation for the Navy Department within the economical limit set for the Government," only two battleships and one repair ship. Hence, no headway was made in the Taft Administration toward retrieving the relative strength we had lost under Roosevelt.

In the last two years of the Taft Administration when the Democrats had control of the House, it must be remembered, the Senate was Republican and the President was a Republican. In these two years Germany authorized five capital ships and we authorized two. ON COMING TO THE PROGRAM OF THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION, WE FIND THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN YEARS WE AUTHORIZED A LARGER PROGRAM THAN GERMANY. In our first two bills we provided for five capital ships to Germany's four, and are this year providing five capital ships against the three contemplated by the German program at the outbreak of the war. In three years, in other words, we are authorizing a total of ten capital ships to the seven which were contemplated by the German program. Is it the Republicans or the Democrats who have maintained our naval prestige?

As regards battle cruisers, the General Board of the Navy in its first two reports submitted under this Administration did not recommend their construction. It recommends them this year, and they are being provided. It is true that the General Board did recommend two battle cruisers in their recommendations of 1912, but the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Meyer, did not provide for them in his estimates. Every battle cruiser in the British navy at the outbreak of the war was authorized while the Republicans were in absolute control of this country, and Great Britain did not authorize or construct a single battle cruiser between March 4, 1913, and the outbreak of the war, while the Wilson Administration was in power.

THE TRUTH ABOUT OUR SUBMARINES.

Our submarines have come in for pretty severe handling from the partisan critics of the Navy. It is possible to dispose of much argument by acknowledging, as Secretary Daniels has readily and frankly acknowledged, for the last two years—that our submarines are not all that is desired.

But where does the responsibility lie? Every submarine in the Navy today was authorized, built or constructed for under Republican Administration. It was not until three years ago that submarine difficulties were treated seriously in the Navy Department.

We had, and have, an unsatisfactory motor, battery and engine, and yet under the old regime only the youngest officers, lacking in theoretical and practical experience were

assigned to submarines and were expected to solve their problems. Only one officer was assigned to each of the sixteen submarines in commission and fourteen of these officers were ensigns.

No reflection upon their industry or their ability is intended, but it is a most serious reflection upon those charged with the administration of the Navy that no experienced officers were assigned to this duty. Facts certainly warrant the belief that our submarine troubles to-day are due to no other cause than the indifference with which the problem was regarded in the past. It remained for this Administration to take up the work in earnest, to solve the problems and to place the flotilla on its feet, and much success has already been achieved.

The flotilla has been detached from the destroyer flotilla and made an independent command, under an admiral. The number of officers assigned to submarines has been increased so that two instead of one are now assigned to each of the larger boats. Officers of experience have been selected. The cooperation of manufacturers has been sought, and before assuming his duties aboard ship an officer is now instructed at the works where the engines, batteries and motors are manufactured, so that he knows his machinery.

SCHOOL FOR UNDER-SEA NAVIGATION.

In accordance with the recommendations of Admiral Grant, a six months' course of instruction at the submarine base at New London is given every officer before he is assigned to duty on board submarines. He will then be appointed to a subordinate position and receive command of a boat only after he has demonstrated his ability in theoretical study and actual practice. This submarine base and school at New London was opened by the Wilson Administration.

The problem has also been seriously taken up in other quarters. It is being studied by the engineers of the Navy ashore and afloat, with a view to perfecting machinery and improving the craft generally. As a result of these studies, larger submarines have been recommended and provided and in

ARMING THE NATION.

WE have been carried too close to the rocks of war during the past two years to believe that those rocks do not exist. And looking into the future we can perceive that if our sovereignty is not challenged, if our peace is not assailed it will only be because the world knows that we are strong enough to defend ourselves from every foe.

FOR THESE REASONS THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE MORE FOR OUR ARMY AND OUR NAVY THAN ANY ADMINISTRATION IN OUR HISTORY.

More than this, it has mobilized the resources of the nation to meet the needs of war. It has placed the wealth of the country back of the strength of the country, the toiler back of the soldier and the sailor.

—From Martin H. Glynn's keynote speech.

every respect the situation is exceedingly well in hand. With half the labor, half the study, half the work, the submarine question has received under this Administration, the old regime could not have turned over to its successors this important branch of the service in such a pitiful condition.

The Navy is to-day better organized, better balanced, better officered, better manned, better armed, and better supplied with ammunition, and is more efficiently and economically administered than ever before in its history. Every branch of the service has been improved and the organization of both the Navy Department and the Atlantic and other fleets developed to the highest state of efficiency.

PRIOR 5-YEAR RECORDS BEATEN.

"We have made more real progress in the last two years," said Captain J. S. McKeen, "than any previous five-year period in any experience in the Navy. I do not think I have ever known a time when everybody in the service from top to bottom was working as hard with their heads and hands to prepare the fleet for active service."

Admiral Benson, the Chief of Naval Operations, asserts that, "Cooperation between the various bureaus and offices of the Department with the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations has been most cordial and complete, and the practical result has been all that could be desired." And he adds, "A thoughtful consideration of the work that has been accomplished will show that all is being done now that could reasonably be expected from a so-called General Staff." In my opinion the organization that exists in the Department and that is now in successful operation is accomplished in a purely American and business-like manner all that could possibly be expected from the creation of a general staff, and is doing this in a much more satisfactory way."

Says Admiral Dewey, "Our own General Board is, I think, the best General Naval Staff in the world."




Rear Admiral Knight, president of the War College, where high officers of the Navy are instructed in strategy and tactics, testified that, "Secretary Daniels has done more for the War College than any of his predecessors."

The existing shortage of enlisted men, like the shortage of officers, is attributable to conditions inherited by the Administration. It was presented with a shortage of men, too great to be overcome entirely in any three years of peace, and a prejudice to service in the ranks that had to be corrected before any gains could be made.

The Republican Administrations made no claim to having enough enlisted men to man all vessels for war. The authorized strength of the Navy was far below the number that would have been required, and in the sixteen years of Republican incumbency they made no provision for a reserve with which to fill the gap. The reason the authorized strength was not made sufficient to man properly all vessels was because Republican Administrations could not fill the ranks to the limited strength authorized by Congress.

Enlisted Men Promoted

Showing the number of Warrant Officers of the Navy, appointed Ensigns, under the Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson administrations.

<i>Roosevelt</i>		4 yrs. 10
<i>Taft</i>		4 " 3
<i>Wilson</i>		3 1/3 " 17

Showing the number of Asst. Paymasters appointed from among enlisted men, under the Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson administrations.

<i>Roosevelt</i>		4 yrs. 1
<i>Taft</i>		4 " 3
<i>Wilson</i>		3 1/3 " 15

Prior to the act of March 3, 1915, Pay Clerks were selected by individual Paymasters from any source within or without the navy. Under the new law, all Pay Clerks are appointed by the Navy Department from the enlisted personnel.



Increase in Aeronautics

Showing the expenditures for aeronautic purposes under the Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson administrations.

	<i>fiscal yr.</i>	<i>no expdtr.</i>
<i>Roosevelt</i>		
<i>Taft</i>	" " '12	\$24,532.79
<i>Taft 8 mo</i>	" " '13	56,032.90
<i>Wilson 4 mo</i>		
<i>Wilson</i>	" " '14	194,492.46
<i>Wilson</i>	" " '15	219,429.20
<i>Wilson</i>	" " '16	884,679.28
<i>Wilson</i>	" " '17	3,900,000.00*

* { \$3,500,000 for aviation.
400,000 for aeronautic station Pensacola Fla.

Showing the total expenditures under the Taft and Wilson administrations

<i>Taft</i>		\$61,888.06
<i>Wilson</i>		5,217,278.57

At no time since the Spanish war has the Navy had enough men to man all vessels for war; and until recently we have not had enough to man properly all ships on a peace basis, with some in reserve. For years we built ships without authorizing the men to man them.

When Mr. Roosevelt began his second term, the authorized strength of the Navy was 34,500 men. It was inadequate, and 3,000 additional men were recommended during his first year. In all, during his second term, 7,500 additional men were authorized, a number just sufficient to man the new ships authorized during the same period, which required, under the old schedule, since found inadequate, 7,155 men. But it failed to provide a reserve or to cut down the previously existing shortage, which was given as a legacy to the Taft Administration.

SHORTAGE OF JACKIES INHERITED.

The ships authorized in the Taft Administration require, under the old schedule, 9,886 men, and George von L. Meyer was Secretary during all four years, and who has criticized the present Administration for its lack of men, recommended an increase of only 4,000 men and 1,000 apprentices, which was 4,888 short of the number required to man the ships authorized during his incumbency. Meyer, moreover, failed to provide a single man toward overcoming the accrued shortage of preceding years. Congress, however, authorized an increase of 6,000 men and 1,000 apprentices (4,000 were voted by the Democratic House), which was still short over 2,000 the number needed for new ships, and made no provision toward reducing the previous shortages. That Administration failed also to establish a reserve. The increase in men actually enlisted was about 3,200.

The Wilson Administration became heir to the accumulated shortages of the Roosevelt Administrations, augmented by the shortages of the Taft Administration, and it is held responsible for their shortcomings by the very persons to whom they are due. It must be remembered that, though the authorized strength of the Navy was many thousands short of the number actually required, the Navy was turned over to the Democrats about 5,000 men short of the number allowed. THERE WERE ACTUALLY FEWER MEN IN THE NAVY WHEN PRESIDENT TAFT AND SECRETARY MEYER LEFT OFFICE THAN THERE WERE EIGHT MONTHS BEFORE, ALTHOUGH CONGRESS HAD, IN THE MEANTIME, AUTHORIZED AN INCREASE OF 4,000 MEN, AND THEY HAD THE BEST SEASON OF THE YEAR IN WHICH TO RECRUIT. Under Secretary Meyer there were 10,360 cases of desertion, and of the experienced men with good records, honorably discharged upon their completion of enlistment, only 52 per cent. re-enlisted.

This condition of affairs the Wilson Administration was obliged to face when it entered office. It was as prompt in remedying it as it was in its effort to remedy the shortage of officers. Congress has this year provided for vocational






Increase in Officers.

Showing by comparison the number of midshipmen appointed at the Naval Academy under the Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson administrations.

Roosevelt		4 yrs. 978
Taft		4 " 945
Wilson		3 " 1473

Increase in Enlisted Men.

Showing the enlisted personnel of the Navy, as authorized by law.

Roosevelt		Auth. 1905 37,000
		" 1908 44,500
Taft		" 1909 44,500
		" 1912 51,500
Wilson		" 1916 79,064




Showing increase under each administration.

Roosevelt		7,500
Taft		7,000
Wilson		27,564




The act of 1916 permits the President, at his discretion, in an emergency, to increase the Navy to 87,000 which would be an increase of 35,500 over the Taft administration.

Navy Yard Increase.




Number of Men.—Showing the total number of employees in the principal navy yards in the United States as of date, June 1, 1913 and July 1, 1916.

1913		16,898
1916		24,383
Increase		7,485

Daily Pay.—Showing the total daily pay of such employees in 1912 and in 1916.

1912		\$460,273.50
1916		73,091.12
Increase		27,063.77

Comparison of Pay.—Showing the average daily pay of such employees in 1912 and in 1916.

1912		\$2.723
1916		2.997
Increase		0.274

training in the Army. Secretary Daniels three years ago established it in the Navy, and the innovation gradually filled the ranks. It was not possible at once to overcome the prejudices toward the service, which the conditions just enumerated must certainly have caused, but enlistment, instead of declining, increased, and in three years 6,331 men have been added to the Navy, which is nearly double the increase made in four years under President Taft.

ATTACK THEIR OWN INEFFICIENCY.

As critics of the Navy, the Republicans have had, perhaps, knowledge of what they did and what they did not do. For sixteen years they administered the affairs of the Navy Department. They left it deficient, and they knew at first hand its faults, which exist for no other reason than that in their sixteen years of control they have not corrected them; and, KNOWING WHERE THE NAVY WAS WEAK, THEY HAVE, WITH POOR GRACE, SET ABOUT TO BELITTLE THE EFFORTS OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION TO MAKE THE NAVY A REAL EFFICIENT FIGHTING ORGANIZATION, AND TO OVERCOME THE SHORTCOMINGS FOR WHICH THE REPUBLICANS ALONE ARE RESPONSIBLE.

The fact that the Navy is short of officers and that officers with little experience have been assigned to important duties has been made much of by Republican critics of the Navy. But responsibility for the present shortage cannot be placed on Democratic shoulders. If the Republicans had been as solicitous for the welfare of the Navy while in power as they profess to have become in the last three years, there would be no shortage to-day of which to complain.

The Navy is short of officers to-day because six, eight and ten years ago the Republicans failed to appoint sufficient midshipmen to the Naval Academy. The United States depends upon graduates of the Naval Academy for its officers—the number commissioned from other sources is so insignificant as to be disregarded—and the first midshipmen to enter the Academy under this Administration will not graduate until June, 1917. Only time, with the aid of increased midshipmen, can remedy the condition. The Democrats have increased the midshipmen, and are providing engineers, aviators and instructors to give some necessary immediate relief, but as it takes four years to graduate an ensign, the lack of officers cannot be charged to this Administration.

The Administration could not remedy the shortage of officers immediately, but it at once set about to correct the conditions so that at the very earliest time possible the fault would be overcome. Within two months after entering office, and long before any suggestions from outside sources, Secretary Daniels recommended, and Congress authorized, an extension of law, allowed by the Republicans to lapse, providing for two midshipmen to each member of Congress. This has permitted about 300 additional midshipmen to enter the Academy in the last two years. The Democrats have this

year provided that the number of midshipmen shall be in the ratio of three instead of two to each member of Congress, making 531 additional appointments immediately available, or a total of over 800 additional midshipmen, which have been provided for in the first three years of Democratic Administration. The Republicans failed to make increase in the number of midshipmen, and actually allowed the law which provided for two midshipmen to lapse—and that is why we have not sufficient officers to-day.

DETAILS OF ADVANCEMENT.

Turning now to other details of constructive achievement in the Navy, what do we find?

For the first time a continuing policy has been adopted for the accumulation of reserve ammunition and for other necessary adjuncts for a Navy strong enough and ready to maintain the rights of the Republic.





The Sixty-fourth Congress also appropriated \$3,900,000 for aeronautics and the aviation station, continuing the wise policy of the Sixty-third Congress, which made the first specific appropriation (\$1,000,000) for aeronautics. The appropriation by the Sixty-third Congress has permitted the development of naval aeronautics so that an aviation ship is now in the fleet, and the aviation corps has been increased to 18 machines and 160 officers and men, as compared with 4 machines and 4 officers in March, 1913. The larger appropriations by the Sixty-fourth Congress will insure a larger expansion.

The construction of new craft has been prosecuted more rapidly under Wilson than in former years. For example, it took seven years to build the VIRGINIA, which was launched in 1906. It took nearly five years to construct the SOUTH CAROLINA, which was launched in 1909. At a period when it was more difficult to secure material and labor than ever before in the history of the country, by virtue of the prosperity ushered in by the Wilson policies, the PENNSYLVANIA, just completed, was finished in three years and three months, and the ARIZONA, which is nearing completion, in about the same time. Delays in construction of two ships authorized by the last Congress were necessitated by elaborate tests essential for securing underwater protection against torpedoes, and by the inability to secure bids from private contractors within the sum appropriated. Notwithstanding these difficulties, these two ships will be completed in less time than any ships were completed during either the Roosevelt or the Taft administrations. All new ships are now equipped with electrical propulsion, a forward step in which the United States leads the navies of the world.




When the Wilson administration undertook the regeneration of the Navy, it was found that there was no mining division, and that there were few mines. Contracts were made at once to purchase mines abroad—none could be had in this country—but the European war made it impossible for the contractors to fill the orders. Fortunately, the Navy

Reserve of Munitions.
Showing the percentages, of
total orders placed during
each administration.

Projectiles

McKinley-		
Roosevelt)		5.1%
Roosevelt		8.6%
Taft		22.4%
Wilson		63.9%

Torpedoes

McKinley-		
Roosevelt)		.9%
Roosevelt		9.4%
Taft		18.2%
Wilson		71.5%

Mines

McKinley-		
Roosevelt)		9.7%
Roosevelt,		
and Taft.)		
Wilson		90.3%

Smokeless Powder

McKinley-		
Roosevelt)		17.1%
Roosevelt		20.0%
Taft		23.4%
Wilson		39.5%

If in the great crisis that now confronts the nation, the American people falter, if they forget that they are guardians of the most sacred trust that a people ever held, their apostasy will be visited upon the descendants of their children's children.—From Martin H. Glynn's keynote speech.

Department had in its contract obtained the right to manufacture mines in this country, and it is doing so in its own plant. A Mining Division has been organized complete. Now for the first time in the history of the American Navy its position with regard to mines and mining is satisfactory. Moreover, the mines built in this country have been built at a cost of between \$175 and \$200 less than the price contracted for their purchase abroad, and a large saving has been effected. For every 100 mines the Navy had when the Wilson administration came into office, there are now 400, i. e., four times as many, and the number is being multiplied daily.

A like shortage in torpedoes has been remedied, and for every hundred torpedoes we had on hand in 1913, we now have 158 more ordered or in process of construction, and the Navy Department is constructing torpedoes in its own plant at a saving of over \$1,000 on each torpedo. It has also increased the capacity of torpedo works 433 per cent. Not only are more torpedoes provided for less money, but the Navy Department has won its suit to prevent a private company from selling its torpedoes to foreign nations, thereby disclosing Navy secrets. In rendering its decisions, Judge Cox made this wise declaration, which endorses the policy of the Navy Department under this administration: "This case illustrates the importance of the United States having a manufactory of its own for the manufacture of torpedoes and other implements of war, which are improved and changed from time to time by the addition of ingenious mechanism, which should clearly be kept secret unless our enemies are to profit equally with ourselves in every improvement which the ingenuity of our Army and Navy officers may suggest."

ADEQUATE POWDER SUPPLY.

As the Navy increased its production of powder, the private manufacturer decreased the prices from 80 cents to 53 cents a pound, by direction of Congress after an investigation into its cost. The Navy manufactures powder for 34 cents a pound, including all overhead charges, and this administration has increased the capacity of the powder factory from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 pounds per annum, insuring an adequate supply at minimum cost.

For years the manufacturers of armor plate had been charging the American people excessive prices for armor plate. All three companies manufacturing armor plate offered bids of identically the same price. Such bids were not accepted, and more than \$1,100,000 were saved on three ships by insisting upon competition. But this large saving still left the price far above a reasonable sum. The 64th Congress has appropriated \$11,000,000 to build an armor plate plant, where armor plate can be manufactured at a price of \$230 a ton, as against \$454, the price which was being paid when the Wilson administration was inaugurated. In addition to cheapening the cost of production, an addi-

tional advantage of a government armor plate plant would be to encourage and give opportunity to its experts to steadily improve the quality of the armor to be used on naval craft. No process is perfect, and the study and experiment will produce superior armor. Secrets of production discovered by government experts will belong exclusively to the American Navy.

It has also appropriated \$705,611 toward a projectile factory, to cost double that sum, insuring an adequate supply of superior ammunition, not now obtainable, at cost price. By obtaining competition, \$1,077,210 was saved on a single contract for projectiles. A government factory guarantees competition with private manufacturers, and the best quality of projectiles.

Private ship-building yards must increase their facilities to construct the large program authorized. It was the practice before the Wilson administration to build no ships in any except two navy yards, and their facilities were limited. The Wilson administration has equipped, or provision has been made by the 64th Congress to equip every navy yard to construct naval craft, and it will be possible in the future to secure more rapid construction of new ships for the Navy in both private and public yards. The fact that the Government can build in its own yards will, in normal times, insure competition in building and secure prices more reasonable than would be possible if it depended almost entirely upon private shipbuilding yards as the Republicans did.

There has never been a time when so many men were employed at the Navy Yards as under the Wilson Administration, and the large program this Congress has authorized will make it necessary to increase the number of skilled workmen in our ten Navy Yards. The number of employees in July, 1916, was 24,383, as compared with 16,898 on June 1st, 1913, before the new policy of building ships and making other material in Navy Yards was adopted. The total daily pay roll as of June 1, 1913, was \$46,027.35, as against \$73,091.12, the total daily pay roll as of July 1, 1916. The average daily wage prior to June, 1913, was \$2.723, while the average daily wage of July, 1916, was \$2.997, an average increase per day of wages of twenty-seven and four-tenths cents per day.

The ordnance experts of the Department have designed and completed and placed on latest dreadnaughts the best anti-aircraft gun in the world.

WORLD'S BEST BIG GUN.

It has also produced a large calibre gun that will shoot straighter, shoot farther and hit harder than any gun now in use in any foreign navy. Sixteen-inch guns are to be placed on new dreadnaughts.

The unworkable organizations of both the Navy Department and the Atlantic Fleet (in which is centered the chief strength of the American Navy) have been supplanted by better ones. Without violating the American ideal of subordinating the military to the civil power, the Fleet and the

Department are now so organized as to effect the most successful operation afloat and ashore.

THE ARMY'S RECONSTRUCTION

High praise has come from conservative, non-partisan experts for the Hay-Chamberlain law reorganizing and modernizing the land forces of the United States.

"The statement cannot be contradicted that it is the best and only comprehensive measure looking to military preparedness that has ever been passed by Congress," says Major William D. Connor of the General Staff Corps.

"In general terms," declares a curt War Department memorandum, "it may be said that this is the first comprehensive legislation for national defense. It provides, as far as can be foreseen, for the needs in men and material, and it has been pronounced by all who are competent to judge as the best military legislation that the country has ever had. Certain parts of it are more or less experimental, but without experiment no advance will be made, and if any part of the experiment does not work that part can be corrected by new legislation."

There will hereafter be four classes of soldiers in the United States: First, the Regular Army; second, the National Guard; third, the enlisted reserve corps, all of which shall exist in time of peace; and, fourth, the Volunteer Army, which will be raised only in time of war. The peace strength of the Regular Army is approximately 11,000 officers, not to exceed 175,000 combatant troops, and approximately 40,000 non-combatant troops, including the unassigned recruits. The National Guard will consist of about 17,000 officers and 440,000 men. The number of men who will join the enlisted reserve corps can not be foretold. They are practically enlisted specialists for the technical departments of the Army recruited in time of peace for use in time of war only, and are subject in time of peace to short periods of training yearly. Volunteers can be called in time of war when and in such numbers as Congress shall authorize.

The Army will be increased 34 1-3 regiments of Infantry, 10 regiments of Cavalry, 15 regiments of Field Artillery, 93 companies of Coast Artillery, 5 regiments of Engineers, 2 battalions of Mounted Engineers, the necessary number of auxiliary troops in the Medical Department, Quartermaster Corps, Signal Corps, and the unassigned recruits, and in addition thereto the number of Philippine Scouts that may be determined upon by the President, not to exceed a maximum of 12,000.

The number of general officers of the Army has been increased from 7 major generals and 17 brigadier generals to 11 major generals and 36 brigadier generals. This will provide the necessary general officers to command the divisions and brigades and furnish the general officers for the General Staff.

GENERAL STAFF EXPANDED.

The General Staff Corps has been increased from 38 officers to 57 officers, and the duties of the General Staff remain the same as they were before the writing of the new bill. This important corps has been nearly doubled, and with its increased numbers the General Staff will be better able than heretofore to perform its important functions.

In order to provide for the regular officers necessary for duty with the National Guard, duty at the various colleges where military instruction is given for recruit duty, military attaches' etc., provision is made for a detached officers' list which provides 1,022 officers in addition to those necessary with organizations. This supplies the officers necessary for the various duties prescribed by law without taking them away from their organizations. Up to the present time promotion has been more or less unequal at different times in the different branches of the service, and to a certain extent this detached officers' list will be utilized to equalize promotion in the different branches, and for the same purpose authorization is given to transfer officers from one branch of the line to another to fill the vacancies created by the new act.

ENLISTMENT STIMULATED.

The present enlistment contract provides for a seven-year enlistment, four of which shall be with the colors and three with the reserve. Under the new law these periods are reversed, that is, three years with the colors and four in the reserve, but an important addition is made, namely that at the end of one year's service any enlisted man within the continental limits of the United States may be discharged if he has become proficient in that time. This is an important proviso and will, it is believed, increase the number of enlistments. In addition to that, provision is made for paying the enlisted men in the reserve \$24 a year, and the President is authorized to utilize the personnel of any department of the Government, such as postmasters, mail carriers, etc. to keep track of reservists, and also to use the postmasters (except first class) to obtain recruits for the Army.

Enlisted men are prohibited from engaging in any civil occupations, whether for pay or otherwise, that would put them in competition with men in civil life.

OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS.

An officers' reserve corps is provided which will authorize the commissioning of civilians up to and including the grade of major in the various branches of the Army. These men can be selected and trained in time of peace, and the officers so obtained will be far better prepared than any volunteers that could be raised hurriedly at the outbreak of war. In order to obtain these reserve officers, a reserve officers' training corps is authorized which will consist of units at the various colleges, academies and universities throughout the country where military education and training will be given which, in connection with six weeks' field training each summer, will give a personnel for the officers' reserve corps that

is far better equipped for the duties of an officer than any heretofore available.

In order to provide the enlisted men for the various technical staff corps and departments, an enlisted reserve corps has been authorized, which will consist of men whose daily occupation in civil life specially fits them for duty in the Engineer, Signal and Quartermaster Corps and in the Ordnance and Medical Departments. This enlisted reserve corps will provide the railway operatives, bridge builders, chauffeurs, hospital attendants, nurses, telegraphers, etc., required for the departments and corps mentioned. It is impracticable to keep in the Regular Army the number of men of these classes that will be necessary in time of war, and the enlisted reserve corps will provide for the deficiency.

No provision is made for a volunteer force in time of peace, but in place thereof the ideas embodied in the business men's camps of 1915 have been provided for, and the new law provides that all expenses in connection with attendance at such camps shall be borne by the Federal Government.

NATIONAL GUARD FEDERALIZED.

The National Guard is, within the limits of the Constitution, federalized. The maximum number authorized is 800 for each Representative and Senator in Congress, and such number from the Territories as the President shall prescribe. This will probably give a total of about 17,000 officers and 440,000 enlisted men. The organization of the National Guard will conform to that of the Regular Army, as will also its equipment and armament.

The President is authorized to organize the National Guard into brigades, divisions, and other tactical units, and to prescribe the kind of organizations that shall be maintained in the various States to insure that these brigades and divisions will be complete in all respects. Certain qualifications are required of officers of the National Guard, and although these officers will still be commissioned by the governors, they will not be recognized by the Federal Government unless they fulfill the prescribed qualifications. Regular Army officers may be commissioned in the National Guard if the governors so desire. Enlistments in the National Guard will be for six years, three years with the colors and three years with the reserves, but a man may serve out his enlistment, if he so desires, instead of going into the reserve. Hereafter the enlistment contract for the National Guard will contain an oath of allegiance both to the State and to the United States, and not only enlisted men, but officers, must subscribe to such an oath. The President is not only authorized to call out the National Guard for the constitutional purposes, but is also authorized to draft them into the service of the United States whether they desire to come or not, and also to draft the additional men that may be needed to keep such National Guard units at war strength, in case the National Guard Reserve authorized by this act is not sufficient for that purpose. Ample provision is made for

the protection of Federal property in the hands of the National Guard, and in case property is lost or destroyed through neglect or in any other way that could have been avoided, the States must replace the property so lost.

Under the new law horses can be supplied to the mounted organizations of the National Guard, and provision is made for their care and maintenance.

BETTER TRAINING FOR MILITIA.

The National Guard will be required to have 48 periods of armory training each year and 15 days' field training, and in case the prescribed amount of training is not undergone the President may withhold the funds appropriated for the National Guard as he sees fit. In addition to that, the Secretary of War may require such additional study on the part of the officers as he may deem necessary. During periods of field training the National Guard will be paid at the same rate as the Regular Army, and for the armory training a generous rate of pay is authorized. National Guard officers and men may be sent to various service schools and will be paid during such periods. The National Guard will be subject to the laws and regulations governing the Army of the United States from the time that they are required to come into that service, and after that time there is no evading the Federal law. A uniform system of courts-martial for the National Guard is authorized, the limitations of which are fixed by law. This will tend to uniform procedure and practice in all the different States. When the National Guard is drafted into the service of the United States, they will be entitled to all the rights of the existing pension laws.

In order to encourage target practice, the Secretary of War is authorized to establish ranges and to supply rifles, ammunition and instructors for rifle clubs in various parts of the country.

PRESIDENT WILSON CONSISTENT

PRESIDENT WILSON'S attitude on the question of national defense has been consistent throughout. He has stood against turning America into a military camp and against universal compulsory service, but in his first communication to Congress in which he discussed this subject at length, he declared:

"We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms. It will be right enough, right American policy, based upon our accustomed principles and practices, to provide a system by which every citizen who will volunteer for the training may be made familiar with the use of modern arms, the rudiments of drill and maneuver, and the maintenance and sanitation of camps. We should encourage such training and make it a means of discipline which our young men will learn

to value. It is right that we should provide it not only, but that we should make it as attractive as possible. * * * It is right, too, that the National Guard of the States should be developed and strengthened by every means which is not inconsistent with our obligations to our own people or with the established policy of our Government. And this, also, not because the time or occasion specially calls for such measures, but because it should be our constant policy to make these provisions for our national peace and safety."

This was the message of the President, delivered in person to Congress at the first opportunity after the outbreak of the European war in 1914. In this same message the President warned the country against nervousness and hysteria. "We shall easily and sensibly," he predicted, "agree upon a policy of defense. * * * Our policy will not be for an occasion. It will be conceived as a permanent and settled thing, which we will pursue at all seasons, without haste and after a fashion perfectly consistent with the peace of the world, the abiding friendship of States, and the unhampered freedom with all whom we deal."

POLICY OUTLINED IN 1915.

One year later, on December 7, 1915, the President defined at greater length his policy of preparedness and outlined the program essentially as Congress subsequently enacted it. A democracy, he declared, is not belligerent and will not maintain a large standing army. "War," he said, "has never been a mere matter of men and guns. It is a thing of disciplined might. If our citizens are ever to fight effectively upon a sudden summons, they must know how modern fighting is done, and what to do when the summons comes to render themselves immediately available and immediately effective. And the Government must be their servant in this matter, must supply them with the training they need to take care of themselves and it."

Industrial preparedness, the ability readily to mobilize the industries of the country, was also urged by President Wilson at this time. "I take it for granted," he said, "that I do not need your authority to call into systematic consultation with the directing officers of the Army and Navy men of recognized leadership and ability from among our citizens who are thoroughly familiar, for example, with the transportation facilities of the country and therefore competent to advise how they may be coordinated when the need arises, those who can suggest the best way in which to bring about prompt cooperation among the manufacturers of the country, should it be necessary, and those who could assist to bring the technical skill of the country to the aid of the Government in the solution of particular problems of defense."

The President has been frequently misquoted and misrepresented because in his message of December, 1915, he declared that the Administration "had not been negligent of national defense. We are not unmindful," he said, "of the great responsibility resting upon us. We shall learn and

profit by the lesson of every experience and every new circumstance; and what is needed will be adequately done." For their own partisan purposes this passage was misunderstood by Republican press and politicians, and the impression was sought to be conveyed that President Wilson had declared that the country, in his opinion, was adequately prepared and needed no new legislation, no increase in either Army and Navy, no modernization of its land and sea defenses. But the President's own words answer this charge and prove it to have been without basis and unfounded.

MOBILIZATION OF INDUSTRY

UP TO THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION NO ADMINISTRATION IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES HAD MADE ANY EFFORT TO COPE WITH THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL PREPAREDNESS. For decades before the outbreak of the European war the industries of Germany had been mobilized. Not only had the Imperial German government tabulated the manufacturing plants, the railroads and the mines of the nation with a view to securing prompt cooperation for the national defense, but the authorities had listed the names of every citizen so that in time of stress they might know whom to send to the trenches, whom to call upon for the manufacture of munitions, what shops to turn into the control of the quartermaster's department, and so on. In France, as in Austria and in Germany, every horse and wagon suitable for military service was listed and the records were kept by areas so that at any time the governments could ascertain in any stated district what horses and wagons were available, their condition, and their readiness to respond.

THE NATIONAL DEFENSE ACT, PASSED BY THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS, AND SIGNED ON JUNE 3, 1916, BY PRESIDENT WILSON, WAS THE FIRST TREATMENT, COMPREHENSIVE OR OTHERWISE, OF THE SUBJECT OF THE MOBILIZATION OF THE INDUSTRIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

To this Administration belongs the credit, then, of having prepared, in times of peace, the industries of the United States for effective use for national defense in time of war. For the first time in the history of the country an industrial inventory of the United States was prepared under the direction of the government by the Committee on Industrial Preparedness of the United States Naval Consulting Board. This gigantic task, which was virtually completed before the first of August, 1916, reveals just what plants the country over can use their equipment to produce the thousands of things necessary for the Government's use in a national emergency. By the closest kind of cooperation between Congress, the Army and Navy Departments of the Federal Government, and the business interests of the country, a firm and enduring foundation for the nation's defense has been raised.

ANNUAL REPORTS REQUIRED.

The National Defense Act provides for the sending of annual educational orders to American manufacturers in order to teach them during peace how to turn out the military and naval supplies needed in an emergency. An industrial reserve will also be created so that in time of war the skilled mechanic may be kept at work where his services are most valuable instead of being sent to the firing line.

Both the inventory and the legislation growing out of it are the result of a remarkable three months' campaign made by a volunteer, unpaid organization of business men and engineers created by the Wilson Administration. It marks a new era in the relations of the engineer, the manufacturer and the citizen generally in the safeguarding of the national government, as well as a much closer coordination between various governmental agencies. In many states undeveloped resources have been classified and given publicity and new industries are promised as the result of information gathered.

Business men the country over received the investigators with the greatest courtesy and cooperation. In only a few cases did they refuse to give the desired information, and then usually under a misunderstanding of the committee's plans, which was quickly cleared up. More than 30,000 concerns, each doing an annual business of over \$100,000, were classified, in addition to many smaller plants with equipment peculiarly suited to turn out material for the fighting line. At the time of the Mexican crisis, Chairman Coffin sent out urgent telegrams to the chairmen of all state boards, subdivisions of the Industrial Mobilization Committee, urging all possible haste in preparing to supply the needs of the army, and Secretary Baker of the War Department detailed five regular army officers, two of them members of the General Staff, to the committee headquarters in New York.

Compliance with all orders given by the government for products or materials is made obligatory and are to take precedence over all other orders and contracts. Operators of plants equipped for the manufacture of arms or ammunition are required to manufacture and furnish these supplies upon the order of the government at a reasonable price.

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

Important new legislation was enacted in the Army Appropriation bill of 1916. The most important single item in this bill was that which created the Council of National Defense for the co-ordination of the industries and resources for national security and welfare. This Council, the need for which has long been a set forth by military experts, and which, incidentally, was never recognized by Republican Administrations, consists of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, together with an advisory commission nominated by the President to serve patriotically without compensation. By the terms of the statute it is enacted that the duty of this Council of National Defense shall be:

"To supervise and direct investigations and make recommendations to the President and the heads of executive departments as to the location of railroads with reference to the frontier of the United States so as to render possible expeditious concentration of troops and supplies to points of defense; the co-ordination of military, industrial and commercial purposes in the location of extensive highways and branch lines of railroad; the utilization of waterways; the mobilization of military and naval resources for defense; the increase of domestic production of articles and materials essential to the support of armies and of the people during the interruption of foreign commerce; the development of seagoing transportation; data as to amounts, location, method and means of production, and availability of military supplies; the giving of information to producers and manufacturers as to the class of supplies needed by the military and other services of the Government, the requirements relating thereto, and the creation of relations which will render possible in time of need the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the Nation."

SWISS IDEA ADOPTED.

Another section of the Army Appropriation bill sets aside \$300,000 for the establishment of indoor and outdoor rifle ranges. These ranges will be under the control of the War Department in charge of a "director of civilian marksmanship," and will be utilized to encourage and train citizens in the art and science of rifle shooting. This is in line with the Swiss idea of universal military service, and paves the way for the accomplishment of President Wilson's hope that there should be in America, "a citizenry trained and accustomed to arm."

RAYMOND ROBINS LAUDS WILSON'S MEXICAN POLICY

"The most skillful, the most courageous, the greatest statesmanship of the last two years in this world was the manner in which Wilson averted war between this country and Mexico. The reason that the blood of American men—sons of our homes—is not today reddening the hot sands of Mexico, to serve the interests of a few corporation magnates and speculators, is due more to the courage and constancy of Woodrow Wilson than to any other factor in American life. I would count myself poor and small indeed if I were not able to recognize wisdom, courage and public service, even if it had been shown by the chief of an opposing party."—Raymond Robins, speaking at the Chicago Coliseum, Oct. 19, 1914.

A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS ESSENTIAL TO PROGRESS

Contrast of Democratic Cohesion With Republican Disunion on Progressive Issues Shows Need of Re-electing Democrats

WHEN you vote in the presidential election this Fall you will vote not only to elect Woodrow Wilson or Charles E. Hughes, but to elect an agency of government. You will vote also to elect Representatives and Senators—the Congress. The President and the Congress together are your agents in conducting the government.

If the government is to reflect and carry out your will as to principles and politics, legislative and executive, these essential parts of the government must be in sympathy. They must constitute a harmonious, effective, working whole.

A vast majority of Democrats, a minority of Republicans, and also the four million-odd men and women who cast their ballots for the Progressive Party in 1912, favor progressive government and are opposed to national administration biased or controlled by special or selfish interests. The voters of the United States want government of, for and by the people. This now means not only government free of obligation to particular interests and clear of affiliation with classes, but government—especially important at this juncture—free of and above foreign influences.

To obtain such a government, we assume, is your will. You want, then, an agency of government—a President and a Congress—at liberty and capable of translating your will into action. You wanted this in 1912; you still want it in 1916. You got it in 1912; you can keep it in 1916.

HOW THE RECORD WAS MADE.

THE ELECTION THIS FALL IS A REFERENDUM UPON WOODROW WILSON AND UPON THE GREAT LEGISLATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS WHICH PERSISTENT, DRIVING CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITIES OF HOUSE AND SENATE HAS PUT THROUGH. SO CLOSELY UNITED ARE THESE PROPOSITIONS THAT, IN FACT, THEY ARE THE SAME. NOT ONE, BUT ALL THE PARTS GO TO MAKE UP THE AGENCY OR INSTRUMENTALITY OF THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT YOU WANT.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE SIXTY-THIRD AND SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESSES, WORKING TOGETH-

ER, HAVE MADE THE RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT WHICH SETS A NEW HIGH MARK OF ACCOMPLISHMENT IN ONE PRESIDENTIAL TERM. THERE HAS BEEN PROPER ORGANIZED CO-OPERATION WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION FROM THE TOP TO THE BOTTOM OF THE SORT ESSENTIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF ANY LARGE ENTERPRISE DEDICATED TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST. IN A SENSE IT IS A MACHINE WHICH IS INVOLVED; BUT MORE ACCURATE IS THE TERM THAT HAS HAD WIDE USAGE—"THE TEAM." IT IS "THE TEAM-WORK" DONE BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS TO WHICH YOU ARE INDEBTED FOR VAST SERVICE RENDERED. IT IS "THE TEAM" WHICH YOU SHOULD RE-ELECT.

WHAT COULD HUGHES DO?

Pause is proper and to the point before proceeding with the story of what "The Team" has done and how it did it. How of the reverse of the picture? What of Mr. Hughes' team, or "steam roller"—or whatever political tractor with or behind him lies?

How would it work out at Washington if Hughes were President? His "team" inevitably would be the most ill-assorted, uncompanionable and fractious ever strapped into harness. What would happen is conclusively forecast by what has happened.

In the House, September 18, 1913, during the Sixty-third Congress, 33 Republican Congressmen, 16 Progressives and 1 Independent voted for the Federal Reserve Act, and 77 Republican Congressmen voted against it. In the Senate 6 Republican Senators and 1 Progressive voted for this bill and 34 Republican Senators against it.

Twelve Republican Senators voted for the Trade Commission Act August 5, 1914, and 14 Republican Senators voted against it. The Clayton Anti-Trust Act was supported in the House June 5, 1914, by 41 Republicans and 15 Progressive Congressmen and opposed by 52 Republicans. In the Senate the Clayton Law was supported by 7 Republicans and 1 Progressive and opposed by 16 Republicans.

The great rural credits law was opposed in the Senate May 4 of this year by 5 Republicans and supported by 16 Republicans. In the House 10 Republicans voted no on this measure May 15, 1916, and 102 Republican congressmen voted aye.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST AMERICAN RIGHTS.

Upon the crucial test of Americanism contained in the Gore and McLemore resolution put to vote in the House and Senate last March—an outright showdown upon the question of upholding President Wilson's fight to maintain American rights at sea—101 Republicans voted not to table and 87 voted to table the McLemore resolution in the House. In

the Senate 12 Republican Senators voted not to table and 19 Republicans to table the Gore resolution. Had these resolutions not been tabled President Wilson would have been shorn of the power to demand German recognition of the rights of Americans to travel upon the high seas. Whatever Hughes may say or his partisans may do, this record shows that 101 of 188 Republican members voting on this question in the present House and 12 of 31 Republican Senators voting on the Gore resolution in the present Senate were opposed to the assertion and, if need be, the defense of essential American rights.

TO SAY THAT SUCH DIVISIONS WOULD CEASE AND A WORKABLE AGENCY OF GOVERNMENT RESULT UNDER AN ALL-REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION IS TO GOSSIP OF DREAMS. TO SAY THAT HUGHES COULD PROVIDE PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT IS TO DEAL IN GOSSAMER WORDS, ABSURDLY VAGUE AND IMPOSSIBLE. IN PRACTICALLY ALL THE TESTS TO DATE THE REACTIONARY WING OF THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION HAS RETAINED A MAJORITY OF ITS OWN PARTY MEMBERSHIP. TO SPEAK OF THE PENROSES, THE GALLINGERS, THE SMOOTS, THE JOE CANNONS, THE JIM MANNS, AND THE JOE FORDNEYS CHANGING THEIR POLITICAL CASTE AND CHARACTER IS TO DECLARE IN THE FACE OF AGES OF TESTIMONY TO THE CONTRARY THAT THE LEOPARD MAY CHANGE HIS SPOTS.

"TEAM" PULLED TOGETHER.

To return to the Democratic "Team." A retrospect of the busiest Congressional years of generations shows that the application of the term "team" to the work done by the Democrats in Congress beginning in the 62d Congress and under Wilson since March 4, 1913, is absolutely fair and just. Without the constant sympathy and active labor of the majorities of the House and Senate, the President could not have succeeded as he has. The following review further reveals Republican disunion and incompetence and sets forth the bare record of Democratic unison and organization in behalf of constructive reforms:

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

H. R. 7837, Sixty-third Congress, first session. Passed House September 18, 1913, 287 to 85. Conference report adopted in House December 22, 1913, 298 to 60. On the conference report in the House 245 Democrats voted yes, 2 Democrats voted no; 53 Republicans voted yes, 58 Republicans voted no. Passed Senate December 19, 1913; 47 Democrats and 7 Republicans voted aye; 34 Republicans and no Democrats voted no.

INCOME-TAX CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

H. R. 21214, Sixty-second Congress, second session, first passed House March, 1912, by a majority of 213; 178 Democrats voted yes; no Democrat voted no; 75 Republicans voted yes; 40 Republicans voted no. Passed Senate July 26, 1912, 37-18; 24 Democrats and 13 Republicans voted yes and 18

Republicans voted no. Ratified by three-fourths of the State Legislatures, although opposed by Charles E. Hughes as Governor of New York.

ELECTION OF SENATORS BY DIRECT VOTE.

H. J. Res. 39, Sixty-second Congress, first session, passed House April 13, 1912. Yeas, 296; nays, 16; 185 Democrats voted yes, 1 Democrat voted no; 110 Republicans voted yes, 15 Republicans voted no. Passed Senate June 12, 1911. Yeas, 64; nays, 24; 33 Democrats voted yes, 31 Republicans voted yes, 7 Democrats and 17 Republicans voted no. Ratified by three-fourths of the States and proclaimed as seventeenth amendment to Constitution by Secretary Bryan May 31, 1913.

ABROGATION OF BOSSISM IN HOUSE.

Rule adopted in House April 5, 1911—Yeas 200, nays 135; 196 Democrats voted yes; no Democrat voted no; 4 Republicans voted yes; 135 Republicans voted no.

UNDERWOOD TARIFF LAW.

H. R. 3231, Sixty-third Congress, first session. Conference report adopted in House September 30, 1913; 250 Democrats voted yes; 1 Democrat voted no; 5 Republicans voted yes; 103 Republicans voted no. Passed Senate September 9, 1913, by 44 to 37, 1 Republican and 1 Progressive voting yes. Signed by President Wilson October 3, 1913.

ANTI-INJUNCTION LAW.

S. 8439, Sixty-second Congress, second session. Passed House May 14, 1912, by a vote to 243 to 31—163 Democrats voted yes; no Democrats voted no; 80 Republicans voted yes; 31 Republicans voted no. Passed Senate February 25, 1913, without roll call. Signed by President March 4, 1913.

GOOD ROADS ACT.

H. R. 7617, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House January 25, 1916, by 282 to 81; 163 Democrats voted yes, 13 Democrats voted no, 128 Republicans voted yes, 68 Republicans voted no. Passed Senate May 8, 1916, without roll call. Signed by President Wilson July 11, 1916.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION ACT.

H. R. 15613, Sixty-third Congress, first session. Conference report adopted in House without roll call or division. Passed Senate August 5, 1914. Yeas, 53; nays, 16; 41 Democrats and 12 Republicans voted yes, and 14 Republicans and 2 Democrats voted no. Signed by President Wilson September 20, 1914.

EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

H. R. 9061, Sixty-second Congress, first session. Passed House December 14, 1911, without roll call or division. Passed Senate May 31, 1912; 25 Democrats and 20 Republicans voted yes; 11 Republicans and no Democrats voted no. Yeas, 45; nays, 11. Signed June 19, 1912.

RUCKER CORRUPT-PRACTICES BILL.

H. R. 15842, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House July 15, 1916, without roll call or division.

SAFETY OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

S. 3769, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House April 28, 1916, without roll call or division. Passed Senate April 20, 1916, without roll call. Signed by President Wilson May 4, 1916.

SEAMEN'S LAW.

S. 136, Sixty-third Congress, first session. Passed House August 27, 1914, without roll call or division. Passed Senate October 23, 1913, without roll call or division. Signed by President Wilson March 4, 1915.

CLAYTON ANTI-TRUST ACT.

Passed House 277 to 54, June 5, 1914, ayes 221 Democrats, 41 Republicans and 15 Progressives and Independents; noes 52 Republicans, 1 Progressive and 1 Democrat. Passed Senate 46 to 16, August 5, 1914, ayes Democrats 43, Republicans 7 and Progressives 1; noes Republicans 16.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

H. R. 15316, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House July 12, 1916, by a vote of 285 to 2—145 Democrats voted yes; 1 Democrat voted no; 140 Republicans voted yes; 1 Republican voted no.

RURAL CREDITS.

S. 2986, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, passed House May 15, 1916, by a vote of 295 to 10; 186 Democrats voted yes; no Democrat voted no; 108 Republicans and Progressives voted yes, 10 Republicans voted no. Passed Senate May 4, 1916—yeas 57, nays 5; 41 Democrats and 16 Republicans voted yes; 5 Republicans and no Democrats voted no. Signed by President Wilson July 17, 1916.

BILL TO PREVENT GAMBLING IN FARM PRODUCTS.

Amendment to H. R. 12717, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, Passed House May 2, 1916, as amendment to agricultural appropriation bill. Vote on amendment was 107 to 21 on division. Passed Senate July 12, 1916, by acclamation.

WAREHOUSE ACT.

Amendment to H. R. 12717, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House May 2, 1916, as amendment to agricultural appropriation bill. The vote was 286 to 42; 163 Democrats voted yes; 11 Democrats voted no; 125 Republicans voted yes; 31 Republicans voted no. Passed Senate July 12, 1916, by acclamation.

GRAIN-GRADES ACT.

H. R. 12717, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House May 2, 1916, as an amendment to Agricultural appropriation bill without roll call or division. Passed Senate July 12, 1916, by acclamation.

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION ACT.

H. R. 7951, Sixty-third Congress, second session. Conference report adopted in House May 2, 1914, without roll call or division. Passed Senate February 7, 1914, without roll call. Signed by President Wilson May 8, 1914.

WAR REVENUE AND TARIFF COMMISSION ACT.

H. R. 16763, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House July 10, 1916; 200 Democrats voted yes; no Democrat voted no; 36 Republicans voted yes; 139 Republicans voted no.

WAR RISK BUREAU ACT.

S. 6357, Sixty-third Congress, second session. Passed House August 29, 1914, by 230 to 58. 131 Democrats voted yes; no Democrat voted no; 39 Republicans voted yes; 56 Republicans voted no. Passed Senate August 21, 1914, without roll call. Signed by President Wilson September 2, 1914.

SHIP-PURCHASE ACT.

H. R. 15455, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House May 20, 1916, by a vote of 211 to 161; 194 Democrats voted yes; no Democrat voted no; 16 Republicans voted yes; 161 Republicans voted no. Passed Senate August 18, 1916, 38 to 21, a party vote.

PHILIPPINE ACT.

S. 381, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House May 1, 1916, without roll call or division. Passed Senate February 4, 1916; yeas, 52; nays, 24; 6 Republicans and 46 Democrats voted yes; 24 Republicans and no Democrats voted no.

In the winter of 1914-1915, before the 64th Congress elected in the fall of 1914 came in, the work of the 63d Congress was carried on. To its already great record were added the Harrison Narcotics Act and the Coast Guard Act. The Ship Purchase Bill, for the relief, encouragement and development of our merchant marine, was pushed almost to the point of passage, but was defeted by a Republican filibuster.

"TEAM'S" GOOD WORK CONTINUES.

The 64th Congress, controlled throughout by Democrats, began its work in December, 1915, and has continued with the same courage, co-operation and unflagging industry, the completion of Wilson's programme. The above enumeration points eloquently to results. There are now a Rural Credits Law, a Good Roads Law, a Shipping Law, a Child Labor Law, a Workingmen's Compensation Law, the Warehouse and Grain Grades Acts, etc.

At no time has the "Team" dodged, shirked, or turned back. Therefore is not the "Team" entitled to the only reward for its conscientious, efficient service which the public can give—to wit, its retention in harness?

There is an aspect far larger than that of reward. Much of the conservation programme remains to be put through. There must be legislative support in order to insure efficient administration of the new public service laws. The services of the "Team" are as absolutely necessary now for proper safeguarding of the future as they have been for the performance of an essential work of reconstruction in the past.

IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT CONGRESS REMAIN IN SYMPATHY WITH THE GREAT PURPOSES OF THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION. OF WHAT COMPLEXION SHOULD SUCH CONGRESS BE—A CONGRESS OF THE TYPE WHICH HAS LABORED SO FAITHFULLY AND EFFECTIVELY IN HARMONY WITH PRESIDENT WILSON, OR A CONGRESS CONTROLLED BY REACTIONARY, INTEREST SERVING REPUBLICAN "BOSSES"? A REACTIONARY CONGRESS WOULD AT ONCE SET OUT TO DO EVERYTHING IN ITS POWER TO OVERTHROW, CRIPPLE AND NEGATE WOODROW WILSON'S PROGRESSIVE ENACTMENTS. THIS WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO THE DISTURBANCE OF BUSINESS CONDITIONS. THERE WOULD BE ANOTHER TARIFF AGITATION. IT WOULD BE TAKING A NEEDLESS AND SERIOUS RISK, IF NOT CERTAINLY INVITING THE LOSS OF OUR PRESENT PROSPERITY. WHY CHANCE SUCH A CATASTROPHE?

It was a national blessing that when the European crisis burst the American Government was in smooth working order and in safe hands. Millions of Americans since that time,

as successive questions of increasing gravity have arisen, have thanked Providence that President Wilson was at the helm of Government in the United States.

The old sound, homely-wise argument against swapping horses while crossing a stream enters here; and, to expand the illustration and fit it more nearly to the case, most assuredly no one in his sober senses would split his team in the middle of a ford at flood stage.

POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS.

By William Jennings Bryan.

IN 1892, the Democratic House of Representatives, elected in 1890, passed for the first time a joint resolution submitting an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the popular election of United States Senators. This was the first congressional action taken towards the securing of this great reform. A similar resolution was passed by the House of Representatives, also Democratic, in the following congress. After passing four more times through the House of Representatives it passed the Senate in 1912 and was rapidly ratified by the states, so that on May 31, 1913, it became a part of the constitution of the United States.

While no party can claim the entire credit for the adoption of a constitutional amendment—since it requires the support of two-thirds of both houses of Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the states—still it is worth while to note; first, that it was a Democratic House that first approved the policy; second, that the proposed amendment was indorsed in the Democratic National platforms of 1900, 1904, and 1908, while it was ignored by the Republican National conventions of 1900 and 1904, and **WAS REJECTED BY A VOTE OF SEVEN TO ONE IN THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1908.**

The amendment was submitted to the states before the Democratic National convention of 1912 was held but the Democratic platform of that year **URGED THE RATIFICATION**, while the Republican National platform was silent on this subject.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Democratic party has shown itself the constant friend of popular election of Senators while the **REPUBLICAN LEADERS HAVE DONE LITTLE OR NOTHING TO AID THIS EPOCH-MAKING REFORM.** THE **MASSES** of all parties have favored this reform, as they do all reforms increasing the people's power over the government.

DEFEAT THESE MEN!

Negative Votes On Federal Reserve Act and Rural Credits Puts Reactionary Brand On Many Republican Congressmen

THE Federal Reserve Act is conceded to be the greatest remedial statute enacted in the United States for half a century. It has served as the cradle for and now is the solid foundation and bulwark of the unprecedented prosperity of the United States. The Republican members of the Senate and House who voted against this bill on passage in the House and Senate in the 63d Congress, who now are candidates for re-election or are candidates for any other elective office in this country, should be defeated. They voted against progress, against financial safety, against relief from Wall Street's domination of the Nation's credits; and voted for a continuance of artificial panics, for a monopoly of credit by a few and for political and financial reaction along the most vicious lines.

The names of the men who voted against the reformation of the currency system in the Senate and House follow:

HOUSE.

REPUBLICAN.

Anderson, Minn.	Anthony, Kans.	Austin, Tenn.	Avis, W. Va.
Barchfeld, Pa.	Barton, Neb.	Britten, Ill.	Browning, N. J.
Burke, Pa.	Butler, Pa.	Calder, N. Y.	Campbell, Kan.
Curry, Cal.	Davis, Minn.	Dunn, N. Y.	Dyer, Mo.
Edmonds, Pa.	Fordney, Mich.	French, Idaho	Gillett, Mass.
Good, Iowa	Graham, Pa.	Greene, Iowa	Green, Vt.
Greene, Mass.	Griest, Pa.	Guernsey, Me.	Hamilton, Mich.
Hamilton, N. Y.	Hawley, Ore.	Hinds, Me.	Howell, Utah
Humphrey, Wash.	Johnson, Utah	Johnson, Wash.	Kahn, Cal.
Kennedy, Ia.	Kennedy, R. I.	Kiess, Pa.	Kinkaid, Neb.
Knowland, J. R., Cal.	Kreider, Pa.	La Follette, La.	Langley, N. Y.
Langham, Pa.	McKenzie, Ill.	Madden, Ill.	Mann, Ill.
Mondell, Wyo.	Moore, Pa.	Morgan, Okla.	Morin, Pa.
Plumley, Vt.	Mott, N. Y.	Roberts, Mass.	Platt, N. Y.
Scott, Ia.	Powers, Ky.	Roberts, Nev.	Roberts, Nev.
Slomp, Va.	Sells, Tenn.	Shreve, Pa.	Sinnott, Ore.
Switzer, Ohio	Sloan, Neb.	Steenerson, Minn.	Sutherland, W. Va.
Volstead, Minn.	Towner, Iowa	Treadway, Mass.	Var, Pa.
Woods, Ia.	Wallin, N. Y.	Willis, Ohio	Winslow, Mass.

PROGRESSIVES.

Temple, Pa. Walters, Pa.

PROGRESSIVE-REPUBLICAN.

Copley, Ill.

SENATE.

REPUBLICAN.

Borah, Idaho	Brady, Idaho	Catron, N. M.	Clapp, Minn.
Bristow, Kan.	Burton, Ohio	Dillingham, Vt.	Du Pont, Del.
Colt, R. I.	Cummins, Iowa	Gronna, S. D.	Jackson, Md.
Gallinger, N. H.	Goff, W. Va.	Lippitt, R. I.	McCumber, N. D.
Kenyon, Iowa	Nelson, Minn.	Oliver, Pa.	Page, Ver.
McLean, Conn.	Root, N. Y.	Sherman, Ill.	Smith, Mich.
Penrose, Pa.	Warren, Wyo.	Sutherland, Utah	Townsend, Mich.
Smoot, Utah	Works, Cal.	Brandagee, Conn.	

The same is true of the Federal Farm Loan Act or Rural Credits law. This measure is expected and, in the practically

unanimous opinion of experts, regarded as certain to lead quickly to a phenomenal expansion and development of the agricultural resources of the country. The five Republican Senators constituting the entire negative vote were:

Brandeggee, Conn.
Oliver, Pa.
Page, Vt.
Lodge, Mass.
Wadsworth, N. Y.

In the House the 10 negative votes, all Republicans, were cast against the conference report on rural credits:

Browning, N. J.	Dale, Vt.	Edmonds, Pa.	Gardner, Mass.
Gillett, Mass.	Gray, N. J.	Greene, Vt.	Kennedy, R. I.
Moore, Pa.	Oakey, Conn.	Parker, N. J.	Walsh, Mass.

GORE-McLEMORE TEST.

NEW YORK GLOBE (Ind.), March 8, 1916:

"The vote in Congress is full and fair warning that 'strict accountability' is no longer an academic doctrine. It has been provided with teeth * * *. The President has handled a difficult problem with great skill and the highest kind of courage."

NEW YORK EVENING SUN (Repn.), March 8, 1916:

"The machinations designed to embarrass the President in his difficult dealings with Germany could not stand against the light of day * * *. With the President in undisputed charge of dealings with Germany the foreign situation is as it should be."

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER (Ind.), March 8, 1916:

"The House, like the Senate, backs the President. The nations of Europe are given notice that the country upholds the Chief Executive in his handling of foreign relations * * *. PRESIDENT WILSON WILL EXERT EVERY EFFORT IN THE FUTURE, AS HE HAS IN THE PAST, TO KEEP THIS NATION OUT OF WAR WHILE PRESERVING ITS HONOR. HE IS ENTITLED TO THE ASSISTANCE OF EVERY AMERICAN AS HE CONTINUES TO INSIST, IN THE FACE OF THE BITTEREST BELLIGERENT DENUNCIATION, THAT INTERNATIONAL LAW SHALL BE UPHELD, THAT THE RIGHTS OF HUMANITY SHALL NOT BE CRUSHED TO SUIT THE CONVENIENCE OF ANY POWER AT WAR AND THAT AMERICANS ON THE SEAS SHALL CONTINUE TO HAVE THE PROTECTION OF THE AMERICAN FLAG."

PHILADELPHIA LEDGER (Ind.):

"Even though the House by a decisive vote yesterday sustained the President, it is humiliating to think that a third of the members deliberately put themselves on the wrong side of this vital question. What private griefs they had which made them do it, there is no occasion to inquire. But these reasons must lie discernible either to their patriotism or to their intelligence."

ST. LOUIS GLOBE DEMOCRAT (Repn.):

"The action of the House of Representatives in tabling the McLemore resolution warning Americans from armed belligerent ships is a victory for the President, for constitutional methods of procedure, and, in a way, for the American people. * * *"

REPUBLICANS SUPPORT THE WILSON POLICIES

Votes of Congressmen of all Parties Record Sweeping Indorsement of Wilson Administration's Principal Measures

THE mute story told by the journal of the yea and nay votes in the House and Senate during two Congresses demonstrates that service of the whole people, not partisan advantage or advancement, has inspired the great constructive legislative program of the Wilson administration.

FOR ALL THE GREAT REMEDIAL ENACTMENTS IN THE RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT SOME OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES IN HOUSE OR SENATE VOTED.

FOR OTHERS A MAJORITY OF THE REPUBLICANS AND PROGRESSIVE CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS, AS WELL AS THE DEMOCRATS, VOTED.

FOR STILL OTHERS ALL THE CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS OF ALL PARTIES VOTED. IN OTHER WORDS, SEVERAL IMPORTANT BILLS CARRYING OUT REFORMS FOR WHICH THE COUNTRY HAD WAITED YEARS—AND THAT WERE PREVENTED FROM REACHING A VOTE BY THE STRONG-ARM METHODS OF BOSS-RIDDEN REPUBLICAN CONGRESSES—WERE PASSED BY ACCLAMATION AFTER DEMOCRATS HAD LET DOWN THE LEGISLATIVE BARS AT WASHINGTON.

The vote is the acid test. In the Congressman it represents his final decision which cannot be altered and from which no retreat is possible. Partisan considerations are always an important factor in deciding a Congressman's vote. If he be of the minority, he is predisposed to vote AGAINST measures sponsored by the party in power. If he vote FOR such measures, it is proof positive that those measures are so thoroughly good, so essential to the public welfare, that he dare not vote against them.

THE FOLLOWING REVIEW SHOWING NON-DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT OF DEMOCRATIC BILLS THEREFORE MIRRORS THE TRUE ESTIMATE PLACED UPON THE PRINCIPAL DEMOCRATIC ENACTMENTS BY MANY OF "THE ENEMY" DURING THE LAST THREE AND ONE-HALF YEARS. IT CONSTITUTES IMPORTANT EXHIBIT IN THE CASE OF WOODROW WILSON AND DEMOCRACY VS. HUGHES AND REACTIONARY REPUBLICANISM, SOON TO BE SUB-

MITTED TO JURY. IT IS CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THAT REPUBLICAN LEADERS SHOULD EITHER STOP CRITICIZING DEMOCRATIC MEASURES AND POLICIES OR STOP VOTING FOR THEM IN CONGRESS.

Following is a review of the votes upon the more important bills passed by House and Senate during the 63rd and 64th Congress, giving the names of Republicans, Progressives, Progressive-Republicans, Independents, and Socialists who supported each measure.

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

UNDERWOOD TARIFF ACT.

Supported on passage in the House May 8, 1913, by three Republicans, three Progressives and one Independent; and in the Senate September 7, 1913, by one Republican and one Progressive. The members so voting were:

HOUSE.

REPUBLICANS.

William J. Cary (Wis.).
James Manahan (Minn.).
William H. Stafford (Wis.).

PROGRESSIVES.

M. Clyde Kelly (Penn.).
Wm. J. MacDonald (Mich.).
Arthur R. Rupley (Penn.).

INDEPENDENT.

William Kent (Cal.).

SENATE.

REPUBLICANS.

Robt. M. La Follette (Wis.).

PROGRESSIVE.

Miles Poindexter (Wash.).

CURRENCY REFORM.

The Federal Reserve Act was supported in the House by thirty-five Republicans and thirteen Progressives, and in the Senate by three Republicans and one Progressive, as follows:

HOUSE.

REPUBLICANS.

Silas R. Barton (Neb.).
Chas. H. Burke (So. Dak.).
Henry A. Cooper (Wis.).
Louis C. Cramton (Mich.).
John R. Farr (Penn.).
James A. Frear (Wis.).
H. T. Helgesen (No. Dak.).
Patrick H. Kelley (Mich.).
Edgar R. Kiess (Penn.).
Gilbert N. Haugen (Iowa).
Moses P. Kinkaid (Neb.).
W. L. La Follette (Wash.).
Irvine L. Lenroot (Wis.).
Clarence B. Miller (Minn.).
H. H. Moss, Jr. (W. Va.).
John M. Nelson (Wis.).
P. D. Norton (N. Dak.).
Nicholas J. Sinnott (Ore.).

Charles F. Curry (Cal.).
Charles R. Davis (Minn.).
Chas. H. Dillon (So. Dak.).
John J. Esch (Wis.).
Charles H. Sloan (Neb.).
J. M. C. Smith (Mich.).
Samuel Smith (Mich.).
George R. Smith (Minn.).
William H. Stafford (Wis.).
F. C. Stevens (Minn.).
Howard Sutherland (W. V.).
A. T. Treadway (Mass.).
Geo. M. Young (No. Dak.).
James Manahan (Minn.).
Carl E. Mapes (Mich.).
William D. Stephens (Cal.).
F. O. Lindquist (Mich.).

PROGRESSIVES.

Charles W. Bell (Cal.).	A. W. Lafferty (Ore.).
James W. Bryan (Wash.).	Victor Murdock (Kan.).
Walter M. Chandler (N. Y.).	H. W. Temple (Penn.).
J. A. Falconer (Wash.).	W. J. MacDonald (Mich.).
W. J. Hulings (Penn.).	Charles M. Thomson (Ill.).
M. Clyde Kelly (Penn.).	A. R. Rupley (Penn.).
John I. Nolan (Cal.).	Roy C. Woodruff (Mich.).

SENATE.

REPUBLICANS.

Wesley L. Jones (Wash.).	George W. Norris (Neb.).
John W. Weeks (Mass.).	

PROGRESSIVE.

Miles Poindexter (Wash.).

CLAYTON ANTI-TRUST ACT.

Supported in the House by forty-one Republicans and fifteen Progressives and in the Senate by six Republicans and one Progressive. These men were:

HOUSE.

REPUBLICANS.

Anderson, of Minnesota.	Barton, of Nebraska.
Burke, of South Dakota.	Campbell, of Kansas.
Cramton, of Michigan.	Curry, of California.
Davis, of Minnesota.	Dillon, of South Dakota.
Farr, of Pennsylvania.	Frear, of Wisconsin.
French, of Idaho.	Gardner, of Massachusetts.
Good, of Iowa.	Green, of Iowa.
Greene, of Vermont.	Haugen, of Iowa.
Hawley, of Oregon.	Helgesen, of North Dakota.
Johnson, of Washington.	Kelley, of Michigan.
Kennedy, of Iowa.	Kinkaid, of Nebraska.
La Follette, of Washington.	Lenroot, of Wisconsin.
McKenzie, of Illinois.	McLaughlin, of Michigan.
Mapes, of Michigan.	Mondell, of Wyoming.
Morgan, of Oklahoma.	Moss, of West Virginia.
Porter, of Pennsylvania.	Roberts, of Nevada.
Scott, of Iowa.	Sinnott, of Oregon.
Sloan, of Nebraska.	Smith, of Idaho.
Smith, J. M. C., of Michigan.	Sutherland, of W. Virginia.
Towner, of Iowa.	Vare, of Pennsylvania.
	Woods, of Iowa.

PROGRESSIVES.

Bell, of California.	Bryan, of Washington.
Copley, of Illinois.	Falconer, of Washington.
Hinebaugh, of Illinois.	Hulings, of Pennsylvania.
Kelly, of Pennsylvania.	Lindbergh, of Minnesota.
MacDonald, of Michigan.	Murdock, of Kansas.
Nolan, of California.	Rupley, of Pennsylvania.
Temple, of Pennsylvania.	Thomson, of Illinois.
Woodruff, of Michigan.	

SENATE.

REPUBLICANS.

Clapp, of Minnesota.	Kenyon, of Iowa.
Cummins, of Iowa.	Norris, of Nebraska.
Jones, of Washington.	Perkins, of California.

PROGRESSIVE.

Miles Poindexter (Wash.).

PANAMA TOLLS REPEAL.

President Wilson's stand for repeal of the tolls exemption clause of the Panama Canal Act also was strongly supported in all parties. In the House 1 Independent, 2 Progressive and 23 Republican Congressmen voted with a large majority of the Democrats to pass the bill. In the Senate 13 Republicans and 1 Progressive voted with the President. These Congressmen and Senators were:

HOUSE.**REPUBLICANS.**

Britten, Illinois.	Lindbergh, Minnesota.
Madden, Illinois.	Steenerson, Minnesota.
McKenzie, Illinois.	Stevens, Minnesota.
Good, Iowa.	Volstead, Minnesota.
Green, Iowa.	Bartholdt, Missouri.
Haugen, Iowa.	Danforth, New York.
Prouty, Iowa.	Helgensen, North Dakota.
Gardner, Massachusetts.	Brown, Wisconsin.
Gillette, Massachusetts.	Lenroot, Wisconsin.
Hamilton, Michigan.	Stafford, Wisconsin.
Anderson, Minnesota.	Esch, Wisconsin.
Davis, Minnesota.	

PROGRESSIVES.

Thomson, Illinois.	Copley, Illinois.
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INDEPENDENT.

Kent, California.

SENATE.**REPUBLICANS.**

Brandegge, Connecticut.	McLean, Connecticut.
Burton, Ohio.	Nelson, Minnesota.
Colt, Rhode Island.	Norris, Nebraska.
Crawford, South Dakota.	Root, New York.
Gronna, North Dakota.	Sherman, Illinois.
Kenyon, Iowa.	Sterling, South Dakota.
McCumber, North Dakota.	

PROGRESSIVE.

Poindexter, of Washington.

WAR EMERGENCY MEASURES.

The European military upheaval paralyzed world trade and closed stock exchanges in every quarter of the globe. It precipitated a financial crisis without an example in this country. At once, however, the Wilson Administration met the two greatest issues which the situation presented. To relieve the financial strain, the issuance of Treasury notes was proposed to Congress and Congress UNANIMOUSLY indorsed the proposal. The issuance of these notes, in conjunction with huge deposits of Government funds made by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, successfully met the financial problem.

The second great question was that of providing the means of acquiring ships to carry American food to Europe and to convey American merchandise to other quarters of the world. This was accomplished with equal expedition by the passage of the act admitting foreign ships of whatever age to American registry, when purchased by Americans.

The European war emergency bills, including the ship registry bill, were passed UNANIMOUSLY in their original form. The conference report on the ship registry measure, however, brought about a sharp fight and a record vote in the Senate. This fight involved the wholly domestic question of whether the coastwise trade should be opened up to foreign ships which might be purchased under the bill. A provision admitting such ships to the coastwise trade was inserted in conference and was not a part of the original Administration bill. With this provision finally eliminated, the bill passed 40 to 20—12 Republican Senators voting aye. The 12 were:

EDWIN C. BURLEIGH, Maine.
 THEODORE E. BURTON, Ohio.
 W. P. DILLINGHAM, Vermont.
 LE BARON B. COLT, Rhode Island.
 ALBERT B. FALL, New Mexico.
 THOMAS STERLING, South Dakota.
 J. H. GALLINGER, New Hampshire.
 P. J. McCUMBER, North Dakota.
 KNUTE NELSON, Minnesota.
 BOIES PENROSE, Pennsylvania.
 G. C. PERKINS, California.
 JOHN W. WEEKS, Massachusetts.

A third great measure of relief, under which the United States Government assumes the war risks upon American cargoes, was passed by the Senate unanimously. In the House the bill was opposed by Republican Leader Mann, but was passed by the large margin of 230 to 58.

MEXICAN EMERGENCY RESOLUTION.

In the so-called Mexican Emergency resolution President Wilson asked authority "to use the armed forces of the United States in such ways and to such an extent as may be necessary to obtain from General Huerta and his adherents the fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States, even amidst the distressing conditions now unhappily existing in Mexico."

Its passage was followed by the American occupation of Vera Cruz, which brought about Huerta's elimination from Mexican affairs. Small minorities in both Houses forced this test upon the President's Mexican policy to vote in both Houses in April, 1914, with the result that the President was sustained not only by the Democratic vote but by 24 Republicans and 1 Progressive in the Senate and by 77 Republicans and 14 Progressives in the House. The latter were:

SENATE.

REPUBLICANS.

W. E. Borah, Idaho.	Knute Nelson, Minnesota.
W. O. Bradley, Kentucky.	C. S. Page, Vermont.
J. H. Brady, Idaho.	Boies Penrose, Pennsylvania.
E. C. Burleigh, Maine.	G. C. Perkins, California.
T. B. Catron, New Mexico.	L. Y. Sherman, Illinois.
C. D. Clark, Wyoming.	George Sutherland, Utah.
LeB. B. Colt, Rhode Island.	C. E. Townsend, Michigan.
A. B. Fall, New Mexico.	F. E. Warren, Wyoming.
Nathan Goff, W. Virginia.	C. I. Crawford, So. Dakota.

W. L. Jones, Washington.	A. B. Cummins, Iowa.
P. J. McCumber, N. Dakota.	W. S. Kenyon, Iowa.
G. P. McLean, Connecticut.	Thos. Sterling, So. Dakota.

PROGRESSIVE.

Miles Poindexter, Washington.

HOUSE.

REPUBLICANS.

Austin, Tennessee.	Danforth, New York.
Barchfeld, Pennsylvania.	Dunn, New York.
Browne, Wisconsin.	Edmonds, Pennsylvania.
Calder, New York.	Farr, Pennsylvania.
Cramton, Michigan.	Frear, Wisconsin.
Greene, Massachusetts.	Kreider, Pennsylvania.
Griest, Pennsylvania.	Lenroot, Wisconsin.
Hamilton, New York.	McGuire, Oklahoma.
Helgesen, North Dakota.	McLaughlin, Michigan.
Humphrey, Washington.	Mapes, Michigan.
Kelley, Michigan.	Moore, Pennsylvania.
Kennedy, Rhode Island.	Moss, West Virginia.
Kinkaid, Nebraska.	Nelson, Wisconsin.
Langley, Kentucky.	Patton, Pennsylvania.
Lindbergh, Minnesota.	Porter, Pennsylvania.
McKenzie, Illinois.	Prouty, Iowa.
Manahan, Minnesota.	Roberts, Nevada.
Miller, Minnesota.	Scott, Iowa.
Morgan, Oklahoma.	Sinnot, Oregon.
Mott, New York.	Sloan, Nebraska.
Parker, New York.	Smith (J. M. C.) Michigan.
Peters, Maine.	Smith (S. W.), Michigan.
Avis, West Virginia.	Stephens, California.
Barton, Nebraska.	Switzer, Ohio.
Burke, South Dakota.	Treadway, Massachusetts.
Cooper, Wisconsin.	Wallin, New York.
Curry, California.	Young, North Dakota.
Dillon, South Dakota.	Roberts, Massachusetts.
Dyer, Missouri.	Rogers, Massachusetts.
Esch, Wisconsin.	Shreve, Pennsylvania.
Fess, Ohio.	Slemp, Virginia.
Graham, Pennsylvania.	Smith, Idaho.
Greene, Vermont.	Smith, Minnesota.
Hamilton, Michigan.	Stafford, Wisconsin.
Haugen, Iowa.	Sutherland, West Virginia.
Hinds, Maine.	Towner, Iowa.
Keister, Pennsylvania.	Vare, Pennsylvania.
Kennedy, Iowa.	Willis, Ohio.
Kiess, Pennsylvania.	

PROGRESSIVES.

Bryan, Washington.	Chandler, New York.
Falconer, Washington.	Hinebaugh, Illinois.
Hulings, Pennsylvania.	Lafferty, Oregon.
Lewis, Pennsylvania.	MacDonald, Michigan.
Murdock, Kansas.	Nolan, California.
Rupley, Pennsylvania.	Thomson, Illinois.
Walters, Pennsylvania.	Woodruff, Michigan.

THE SMITH-LEVER AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION ACT, THE INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYEES' ARBITRATION ACT, THE SEAMEN'S ACT AND THE ANTI-NARCOTIC ACT passed both Houses by acclamation.

THE COAST GUARD ACT, placing the former revenue cutter and life-saving services upon a military basis, passed the Senate by acclamation and was supported in the House by 60 Republicans, 5 Progressive-Republicans, 6 Progressives and 1 Independent.

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

In the Sixty-fourth Congress, though the Democratic majority was reduced and a Presidential election impended, the Republican members continued to vote in large numbers for Democratic bills. The inducement to prevent a united minority front on the more important measures, in order to create issues for use in the campaign, was even greater. Nevertheless the proposed enactments brought forward by the Democrats were so good that many Republican and representatives of other opposition parties continued to vote for them.

RURAL CREDITS.

Upon the Rural Credits Bill, which has now become the companion law of the Federal Reserve Act, 16 Republicans in the Senate and 101 Republicans, 2 Progressives, 2 Progressive-Republicans, and 1 Socialist in the House voted aye. These men were:

HOUSE.

REPUBLICANS.

Austin, Tenn.	Browne, Wis.	Campbell, Kan.	Britt, N. C.
Anderson, Minn.	Cary, Wis.	Charles, N. Y.	Cannon, Ill.
Britten, Ill.	Crampton, Mich.	Curry, Cal.	Cooper, Ohio
Capstick, N. J.	Davis, Minn.	Dempsey, N. Y.	Dallinger, Mass.
Cooper, W. Va.	Dowell, Ia.	Drukker, N. J.	Dennison, Ill.
Danforth, N. Y.	Foss, Ohio	Fordney, Mich.	Ellsworth, Minn.
Dillon, S. D.	Good, Iowa	Green, Ia.	Foss, Ill.
Esch, Wis.	Hamilton, Mich.	Haugen, Ia.	Guernsey, Me.
Glynn, Ct.	Hernandez, N. M.	Hicks, N. Y.	Hawley, Ore.
Hadley, Wash.	James, Mich.	Johnson, Wash.	Howell, Utah
Helgeson, N. D.	Kennedy, Ia.	King, Ill.	Kearns, Ohio
Hull, Iowa	La Follette, Wis.	Lenroot, Wis.	Kinkaid, Neb.
Kelly, Mich.	McArthur, Ore.	McCracken, Ida.	Longworth, Ohio
Kreider, Pa.	McKinley, Ill.	Mann, Ill.	McFadden, Pa.
Loud, Mich.	Meeker, Mo.	Miller, Pa.	Mapes, Mich.
McKenzie, Ill.	Nichols, Mich.	Norton, N. J.	Morgan, Okla.
Matthews, Ohio	Powers, Ky.	Ramseyer, Ia.	Paige, Mass.
Mudd, Md.	Roberts, Nev.	Rodenberg, Ill.	Reavis, Neb.
Platt, N. Y.	Scott, Mich.	Sells, Tenn.	Rogers, Mass.
Ricketts, Ohio	Sloan, Neb.	Smith, Ida.	Sinnot, Ore.
Russell, Ohio	Stafford, Wis.	Sterling, Ill.	Smith, Mich.
Slemp, Va.	Sweet, Ia.	Switzer, Ohio	Sulloway, N. H.
Smith, Minn.	Volstead, Minn.	Wason, N. H.	Timberlake, Col.
Sutherland, W. Va.	Williams, Ohio	Wilson, Ill.	Wheeler, Ill.
Towner, Ia.	Bacharach, N. J.		Wood, Ind.
Williams, T. S., Ill.			
Woods, Ia.			

PROGRESSIVES.

Elston, Cal.

Schall, Minn.

PROGRESSIVE-REPUBLICAN.

Stephens, Cal.

SOCIALIST.

Meyer London, N. Y.

GOOD ROADS.

The new Good Roads Act for the development of the American Highway System, which is a certain boon to the general public, was supported in the House by 105 Republicans, one Progressive-Republican, one Progressive, one Prohibitionist, one Progressive-Protectionist, and one Socialist. This measure was passed in the Senate and a conference report was agreed to in both Houses by acclamation. The non-Democratic members voting for the bill in the House were:

REPUBLICANS.

Anderson, Minn.	Anthony, Kans.	Barchfeld, Pa.
Britt, N. C.	Browne, Wis.	Browning, N. J.
Butler, Pa.	Campbell, Kans.	Cannon, Ill.
Cary, Wis.	Cooper, W. Va.	Cooper, Wis.
Costello, Pa.	Crago, Pa.	Cramton, Mich.
Darrow, Pa.	Davis, Minn.	Dennison, Ill.
Dillon, S. D.	Ellsworth, Minn.	Emerson, Ohio.
Esch, Wis.	Farr, Pa.	Fordney, Mich.
Fuller, Ill.	Garland, Pa.	Good, Ia.
Green, Ia.	Hadley, Wash.	Hamilton, Mich.
Haugen, Ia.	Hawley, Oreg.	Heaton, Pa.
Helgesen, N. D.	Hernandez, N. M.	Hinds, Me.
Hollingsworth, Oh.	Hopwood, Pa.	Howell, Utah.
Hull, Ia.	Humphrey, Wash.	Johnson, S. D.
Johnson, Wash.	Kearns, O.	Keister, Pa.
Kelley, Mich.	Kennedy, Ia.	King, Ill.
Kinkaid, Nebr.	LaFollette, Wis.	Langley, Ky.
Lindbergh, Minn.	McCracken, Idaho.	McCullough, Ohio.
McKenzie, Ill.	McKinley, Ill.	McLaughlin, Mich.
Madden, Ill.	Mapes, Mich.	Matthews, Ohio.
Miller, Minn.	Moore, Pa.	Moores, Ind.
Morgan, Okla.	Morin, Pa.	Mudd, Md.
Nelson, Wis.	Nichols, Mich.	North, Pa.
Norton, N. D.	Peters, Me.	Powers, Ky.
Ramseyer, Ia.	Reavis, Nebr.	Ricketts, Ohio.
Roberts, Mass.	Roberts, Nev.	Rodenberg, Ill.
Rowland, Pa.	Russell, Ohio.	Scott, Mich.
Scott, Pa.	Sells, Tenn.	Sinnott, Oreg.
Slemp, Va.	Sloan, Nebr.	Smith, Mich.
Smith, Idaho.	Steenerson, Minn.	Sterling, Ill.
Sulloway, N. H.	Sweet, Ia.	Switzer, Ohio.
Temple, Pa.	Timberlake, Colo.	Towner, Iowa.
Vare, Pa.	Volstead, Minn.	Wason, N. H.
Watson, Pa.	Williams, Ill.	Williams, O.
Wood, Ind.	Woods, Iowa.	Young, N. D.

PROGRESSIVE-REPUBLICAN.

Copley, Illinois.

PROGRESSIVE.

Schall, Minn.

PROGRESSIVE-PROTECTIONIST.

Martin, La.

PROHIBITIONIST.

Randall, Cal.

SOCIALIST.

Meyer London, New York.

SHIP PURCHASE ACT.

This remedial legislation for the expansion of the American Merchant Marine and extending government control over ocean rates and shipping monopoly, although every possible effort was resorted to to draw a sharp partisan line on the proposition—the reactionary Republicans favoring ship subsidies—was supported in the House by 7 Republicans, 1 Independent, 1 Socialist, 1 Prohibitionist, 1 Progressive-Protectionist, and 2 Progressives. The Non-Democrats supporting the bill were:

REPUBLICANS.

Cary, Wis.;	Moss, West Va.;
Dillon, S. D.;	Norton, N. D.;
Farr, Pa.;	Young, N. D.
Miller, Pa.;	

INDEPENDENT.

Kent, Calif.

SOCIALIST.

Meyer London, N. Y.

PROGRESSIVE-PROTECTIONIST.

Martin, La.

PROGRESSIVES.

Schall, Minn.,	Nolan, Calif.
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PROHIBITIONIST.

Randall, Calif.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

The Workman's Compensation Act, applying throughout the Government service the modern theory of the employer's full liability for injuries to employees sustained in the line of duty, was supported in the House by 127 Republicans, 3 Progressives, 1 Socialist, 1 Progressive-Republican, and 1 Prohibitionist. Only two votes were cast against this bill.

PHILIPPINE BILL.

Six Republican Senators voted for the Philippine Bill, declaring the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands. These Senators were:

Borah, Idaho;	La Follette, Wis.;
Clapp, Minn.;	Norris, Neb.;
Kenyon, Iowa;	Works, Cal.

The measure passed the House on vote by show of hands, 251 to 17.

WAR REVENUE ACT.

The so-called War Revenue Bill, providing an increase of the Income Tax and Inheritance Tax, and a tax on munitions to pay the cost of preparedness, levying duty on dye stuff and providing for a tariff commission, was supported in the House by 34 Republicans, 2 Progressives, 2 Progressive-Republicans, 1 Independent, 1 Socialist, and 1 Protectionist. Here again the most determined effort was made to preserve a fair showing of Republican unanimity in opposition. Complete failure to obtain a solid party line-up even against a revenue bill is shown by the following list of Non-Democrats who supported this big Democratic measure:

REPUBLICANS.

Anderson, Minn.	Hawley, Oregon.	Norton, N. D.
Cooper, Ohio.	Lindbergh, Minn.	Sinnott, Oregon.
Esch, Wis.	Morgan, Okla.	Steenerson, Minn.
Greene, Ia.	Roberts, Nev.	Cary, Wis.
Kinkaid, Neb.	Stafford, Wis.	Ellsworth, Minn.
Miller, Minn.	Young, N. D.	Good, Ia.
Reavis, Neb.	Brown, W. Va.	Johnson, S. D.
Smith, Minn.	Davis, Minn.	McCulloch, Ohio
Volstead, Minn.	Gardner, Mass.	Ramseyer, Ia.
Beales, Pa.	Helgesen, N. D.	Sloan, Neb.
Cooper, Wis.	Longworth, Ohio.	Sweet, Iowa
Farr, Pa.		

PROGRESSIVES.

Nolan, Calif.	Elston, Calif.	Schall, Minn.
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PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICANS.

Stephens, Calif.	Copley, Ill.
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INDEPENDENT.

Kent, Calif.

PROHIBITIONIST.

Randall, Calif.

SOCIALIST.

London, N. Y.

AMERICAN RIGHTS AT SEA.

Upon the question of the President's conduct of European affairs, from which Republicans, including Hughes, are endeavoring to extract political capital, President Wilson obtained the support of 19 Republicans in the Senate and of 87 Republicans, 1 Progressive-Protectionist and 1 Prohibitionist in the House.

This startling result followed the President's act in asking of Congress a vote to uphold him in asserting the right of Americans to travel upon merchant ships armed for defence only. The question, however, was really much larger in that the whole question of maintenance of American rights on the sea by the President depended upon the support given him by the country and Congress on the armed merchantman proposition.

The 19 Republicans in the Senate who voted to table the Gore Resolution which prohibited Americans from traveling on Merchantmen of the Allies armed for defence were:

Brandagee, Conn.	Warren, Wyo.	Colt, R. I.
Curtis, Kan.	Clark, Wyo.	Harding, O.
Lodge, Mass.	Du Pont, Dela.	Oliver, Pa.
Burleigh, Me.	Nelson, Minn.	Sterling, N. D.
Dillingham, Vt.	Smith, Mich.	Page, Va.
McLean, Conn.	Weeks, Mass.	Wadsworth, N. Y.
Poindexter, Wash.		

The Non-Democratic members of the House who voted to table the McLemore resolution, which was of the same purport and effect as the Gore resolution, were:

Beales, Pa.	Britt, N. C.	Browning, N. J.	Carter, Mass.
Coover, Ohio	Cooper, W. Va.	Curry, Calif.	Dale, Vt.
Dallinger, Mass.	Danforth, N. Y.	Darrow, Pa.	Dempsey, N. Y.
Dunn, N. Y.	Edmonds, Pa.	Emerson, Ohio	Fairchild, N. Y.
Farr, Pa.	Fess, Ohio	Fordney, Mich.	Foss, Ill.
Freeman, Conn.	Gardner, Mass.	Gillett, Mass.	Glynn, Conn.
Graham, Pa.	Gray, N. J.	Greene, Mass.	Greene, Vt.
Griest, Pa.	Guernsey, Me.	Hadley, Wash.	Hamilton, N. Y.
Haskell, Okla.	Hicks, N. Y.	Hinds, Me.	Howell, Utah
Humphrey, Wash.	James, Mich.	Johnson, Wash.	Keister, Pa.
Kelly, Mich.	Kennedy, R. I.	Keiss, Pa.	Kreider, Pa.
Lehlbach, N. J.	Loud, Mich.	McCracken, Idaho	McFadden, Pa.
McLaughlin, Mich.	Magee, N. Y.	Mapes, Mich.	Miller, Pa.
Moore, Ind.	Morin, Pa.	Mott, N. Y.	Nichols, Mich.
North, Pa.	Oakey, Conn.	Paige, Mass.	Parker, N. J.
Parker, N. Y.	Peters, Me.	Platt, N. Y.	Porter, Pa.
Pratt, N. Y.	Rogers, Mass.	Rowe, N. Y.	Sanford, N. Y.
Scott, Mich.	Scott, Pa.	Sells, Tenn.	Sinnot, Ore.
Smith, Idaho	Smith, Mich.	Snell, N. Y.	Snyder, N. Y.
Stiness, R. I.	Swift, N. Y.	Temple, Pa.	Tilson, Conn.
Tinkham, Mass.	Treadway, Mass.	Vare, Pa.	Walsh, Mass.
Ward, N. Y.	Wason, N. H.	Winslow, Mass.	Martin, La.
			Randall, Cal.

WHENCE LEADERS SPRING.

In Popular Institutions All Classes Are Drawn on for Leaders.

LIFE, gentlemen—the life of society, the life of the world —has constantly to be fed from the bottom. It has to be fed by those great sources of strength which are constantly rising in new generations. Red blood has to be pumped into it. New fiber has to be supplied. That is the reason I have always said that I believed in popular institutions. If you can guess beforehand whom your rulers are going to be, you can guess with a very great certainty that most of them will not be fit to rule. The beauty of popular institutions is that you do not know where the man is going to come from, and you do not care so he is the right man. You do not know whether he will come from the avenue or from the alley. You do not know whether he will come from the city or the farm. You do not know whether you will ever have heard that name before or not. Therefore you do not limit at any point your supply of new strength. You do not say it has got to come through the blood of a particular family or through the processes of a particular training, or by anything except the native impulse and genius of the man himself. The humblest hovel, therefore, may produce you your greatest man. A very humble hovel did produce you one of your greatest men. That is the process of life, this constant surging up of the new strength of unnamed, unrecognized, uncatalogued men who are just getting into the running, who are just coming up from the masses of the unrecognized multitude. You do not know when you will see above the level masses of the crowd some great stature lifted head and shoulders above the rest, shouldering its way, not violently but gently, to the front and saying, "Here am I; follow me." And his voice will be your voice, his thought will be your thought, and you will follow him as if you were following the best things in yourselves.—President Wilson's Address at Y. M. C. A. Celebration, Pittsburg, Pa., October 24, 1914.

DO YOU WANT CONGRESS IN OLD GUARD'S GRIP?

Under Republican Rule All the Big Legislative Posts Would Be Filled By Reactionaries of the Most Pronounced Type

VICTORY at the polls in November for the Republican party means turning back the wheels of progress and putting the control not only of the Presidency but of Congress into the hands from which it was torn by the revolt of the people in 1910. Is the United States eager to have the speakership of the House again held by Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois, czar and dictator, or by his political lieutenant, James R. Mann of Illinois, now minority leader of the House? Are the plain, average citizens of this country hankering after the surrender of the Senate to the old guard stand-pat machine dominated by Smoot, Lodge, Gallinger, Penrose, Warren and du Pont?

Yet precisely such a reaction must be expected with Republican success. With few exceptions unprogressive Republicans of the type who betrayed the people under Taft will again fill the places of power in House and in Senate should Hughes be elected. The election of Hughes and a Republican majority in Congress carries with it no hope or promise of reform—nothing but a going back to the fine old days of high tariff, Aldrichism, boss rule, and a paradise for the lobbyists of the big interests.

If the House goes Republican the important committee on appropriations, for the last six years skillfully presided over by Representative John J. Fitzgerald of New York, will have as its chairman a conservative Massachusetts Republican and supporter of Taft, Frederick H. Gillett. Occupying an important place on this committee, as it is now made up, will be Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois.

SHIP SUBSIDY MAN IN LINE.

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, which, under the Democratic administration, framed and reported the Ship Purchase Bill, will be under the chairmanship of William S. Greene, another Massachusetts man, an advocate of ship subsidy and an opponent of most progressive measures.

If Hughes wins, and carries the congressional campaign as well, the Ways and Means Committee, which frames tariff bills, will have as its chairman that high protectionist, Joseph W. Fordney of Michigan, with Augustus Peabody Gardner of Massachusetts as second in command. "Hampy" Moore of Pennsylvania, another high tariff man, will help to frame the tariff bill which the Republicans hope to write. So will

Ebenezer J. Hill of Connecticut, a manufacturer and protectionist from way back, who helped frame the Payne-Aldrich Act and who again hopes to be in a position to write schedules for the New England industrial oligarchy. There is not a low tariff man on the Republican end of the Ways and Means Committee. Republican success means the beginning of a new era of privilege in the tariff system.

Turning to the Senate and assuming that the party of Hughes, Roosevelt, Barnes, Crane, Taft and Smoot defeats the party of Woodrow Wilson next November, we discover the following astounding state of affairs:

Gallinger will be President pro tem. Penrose will be Chairman of the Finance Committee, so the Penrose-Fordney Tariff Bill would be in name.

The Committee on Appropriations in the hands of a group of the old guard whose names remind one of a list of political obituaries—Warren of Wyoming, chairman; Gallinger of New Hampshire, Smoot of Utah, Dillingham of Vermont, Jones of Washington, Townsend of Michigan and Charles Curtis of Kansas. Knute Nelson, Ballinger's White-washer, will have the Committee on Commerce.

The Committee on Banking and Currency, which framed the Federal Reserve Act under the present Administration, would be chairmaned by Weeks, a broker from Massachusetts, to back him up.

The Committee on Military Affairs, which promises to be an increasingly important committee, would have as its chairman Henry A. du Pont of Delaware and the Powder Trust, with Thomas B. Catron of New Mexico, in charge of the Committee on Coast Defences.

Smith of Michigan, as chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee; Reed Smoot of Utah, as chairman either of the Printing Committee or of the Public Lands Committee; Clarence D. Clark of Wyoming, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee—this is in prospect.

WILL PEOPLE STAND FOR IT?

DO THE PEOPLE WANT IT? WILL THEY STAND FOR IT? DO THEY DESIRE THEIR LEGISLATION TO BE WRITTEN BY THESE DISCREDITED STANDPATTERS?

The progressive Republicans of the Senate, many of whom have stood by the Democrats in many a battle against special privilege, are to be left out in the cold. La Follette of Wisconsin is ranking Republican member of the Committee on the Census, an unimportant committee, but in all probability that chairmanship will be taken from him if the Republicans are elected. Kenyon of Iowa is another advanced Republican who will have to whistle and whistle hard for a chairmanship. Clapp of Minnesota is ranking member of the Interstate Commerce Committee, but has been defeated for renomination. Poindexter of Washington, formerly a Bull Moose, may be given the chairmanship of the unessential committee to investigate trespassers upon Indian lands—but probably not, for Warren G. Harding of Ohio, the man who

placed Hughes in nomination, and a man more acceptable to the old regime in the Senate, though standing in second place, is likely to be preferred to a Republican who has refused to stick by the crimes of his party.

The Finance Committee in the Senate corresponds to the Ways and Means Committee in the House. Aldrich was its chairman in the old days. Penrose of Pennsylvania was its lieutenant. With Penrose as chairman would be associated Lodge, McCumber, Smyth, Gallinger, and Clark of Wyoming.

Do the voters of the country realize what it means to have Congress controlled by the men whose names appear in this article? If it means anything, it means what has happened before. It means closed committee rooms, secret sessions, the flourishing of special privilege, high tariff, and the kind of unprogressive progress which caused the nation four years ago to retire to private life or to subordinate positions the old leaders of the Republican party.

It is the same old Republican party that it always has been. It has a new man at the head of the ticket, a man acceptable to the old gang. But the gang's all there down below the head of the ticket—and, as already remarked it is the same old gang. The answer to this is simple:

Vote for Wilson—the man who unhorsed
the Republican “Black Horse Cavalry”—
and vote for a Democratic House and
Senate.

LIES DON'T MATCH.

I LEARN a great many things that are not so, but the interesting thing about that is this: Things that are not so do not match. If you hear enough of them, you see there is no pattern whatever; it is a crazy quilt. Whereas, the truth always matches, piece by piece, with other parts of the truth. No man can lie consistently, and he cannot lie about everything if he talks to you long. I would guarantee that if enough liars talked to you, you would get the truth; because the parts that they did not invent would match one another, and the parts that they did invent would not match one another.—President Wilson's Address before United States Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D. C., February 3, 1915.



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Champ Rand.

DEMOCRATIC RECORD

WILL REAP VICTORY

Speaker Champ Clark Reviews Achievements and Predicts People Will Not Change Presidents at This Critical Time

(From the Speech of Speaker Clark Delivered in the House of Representatives, July 10, 1916.)

ACTIONS speak louder than words. Here are some of the things we have done and on which we stand:

We passed a great tariff bill—the best ever placed on the statute books. It contains many excellent changes from the Payne-Aldrich-Smoot monstrosity, and it contains one new feature that would make it the best of all tariff bills, even if the rest of it were as bad as the last Republican tariff bill, which most emphatically it is not. That new feature is the income tax.

We had for more than half a century a financial system of shreds and patches, with a currency system almost wholly devoid of elasticity—one of the most necessary and valuable features of any correct currency system. The one we had was a standing invitation and temptation to panic makers. Whenever it suited their convenience they created panics and things went to smash, producing stupendous loss and widespread suffering.

It is a wonder we got along with it as well as we did. For a generation our Republican friends had been tinkering it—always promising but never achieving currency reform.

WON PRAISE OF BUSINESS.

The Democrats, with the assistance of patriotic Progressives and a patriotic contingent of Republicans, placed on the statute book the national reserve-bank act, which is now praised by all business men, big and little, which provides for elasticity and provides an abundant supply of currency, and which, it is believed, will render panics impossible in the future, a consummation devoutly to be wished.

It enables farmers to borrow money on farm lands—the best security in the world—tends to prevent the draining of all the money into a few great cities, retaining it so far as possible in the communities where it belongs. Does any sane man believe that we would have escaped a most destructive panic during the over-seas war if we had not enacted the reserve-bank law?

We passed an anti-trust law which tends to promote legitimate business and to crush illegitimate business. Under the old anti-trust law the then existing trusts flourished like a tree planted by the rivers of water and new trusts sprang up as suddenly and as numerous as mushrooms in a damp cellar.

Under the new law trusts are being dissolved and are rearranging their business on a legitimate basis.

We passed a bill to open up our amazingly rich Alaskan empire for the benefit of all our people and to prevent that marvelous storehouse of wealth from being exploited by the few and for the benefit and behoof of the few.

The policy of locking up Alaska was preposterous; the policy of throwing it wide open to exploiters and looters was criminal. We have chosen the better part by authorizing the building of railroads into Alaska to open it up for homes for our children, and our children's children.

HIS LULLABY.

When I was a child my father used to put me to sleep by singing a song the refrain of which was "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm." He was then, but he is not now. So we are looking out for prosperity.

Very little land worth entering now belongs to him outside of Alaska, which bids fair to be not only a great mining region, but also a great agricultural and grazing section.

The Democratic policy seeks to utilize in perpetuity the vast wealth of that marvelous territory for the benefit of the American people.

We enacted the Alexander-La Follette seamen's bill, which to a great extent, liberates American seamen from a condition of semiserfdom which was a disgrace to American civilization. We hope it will prove a great boon to American shippers.

The Trades Commission law is, so far as our country is concerned, a new venture in legislation, intended to regulate trade so that it will be fair trade—fair to all, big and little. Of course, being of recent date, we have not had time to set the machinery under it to working at its best, but much good is expected from its operations.

The rural-credits bill will undoubtedly prove a great blessing to the farmers. The most valuable features of it are the long term which the loans run, the plan for amortization, and the low rate of interest. These will give a permanency never known before on this side of the Atlantic to agricultural pursuits, and will, it is hoped, induce more people to own their own homes, a great desideratum. The rural-credits bill, taken in connection with the reserve-bank bill, ought to give great impetus to the oldest of human occupations—that of tilling the soil. In America the rural-credits scheme is new, but in Europe it is old, having been started by Frederick the Great at the close of the Seven Years' War, a century and a half ago. The rural-credits bank, or land-schaft, which he started is still doing business.

The bad wagon roads of America are a sad commentary on our sense, for, stated in briefest terms, they constitute wicked and wanton waste. We easily lead the world in railroads, but we are badly behind Europe in wagon roads. We consider the Romans of 2,000 years

ago old fogies, and yet they were ahead of us, much ahead, in the matter of country roads. When they entered a country their habit was to build roads. The Appian Way is the most famous highway in the world, and the rock roads which they constructed across the Pyrenees are still traveled by the children of men. The Shackleford good-roads bill is a long step in the direction of giving us a system of wagon roads which will be of permanent and vast utility to all our people, particularly to farmers, reducing the cost of transporting food products to market, thereby reducing the high cost of living and increasing the joy of living.

WON FIGHT OF YEARS.

After many years of agitation in favor of electing United States Senators by the popular vote, we secured a constitutional amendment authorizing it and passed laws to put the amendment into effect. Not one of the dire evils predicted touching that plan has been fulfilled. No man ever possessed ingenuity enough to produce a valid argument against it. The new plan is working well.

What is known as the Ruckler corrupt-practice act will go far to lift our politics to a higher plane, into a purer atmosphere. That it is perfect no man claims, but it will be amended and improved until the corrupt use of money in politics is reduced to the minimum. On the purity of politics depends the perpetuity of the Republic.

We have passed grain-grading and cotton-future bills to prevent swindles upon the public and to aid honest trade in those necessary commodities.

We have passed a carefully prepared and thoroughly discussed water-power bill which will put an end to the attempted monopoly of water-power sites and the charging of exorbitant charges for power.

We passed amended and better bills for the government of Porto Rico and the Philippines, giving more of self-government to the peoples of those islands.

The House has passed the Alexander ship bill, intended to resuscitate the American merchant marine, which all wise and patriotic Americans favor. It is to be hoped that it will pass the Senate at an early day and that once more our flag will float over every sea and in every harbor of the world. That bill will enable us to prevent exorbitant charges for ocean freights.

The House has passed a good, conservative "Overflow-prevention bill," which we hope will prove valuable in preventing the appalling loss of life and property caused by the great floods. That bill is now on the calendar of the Senate.

We have passed such bills for defense of our country by land and sea as public opinion demands.

The last three Congresses—including the present one—have done more to improve the conditions under which wage earners live and move and have their being than all the preceding Congresses put together.

David J. Lewis, the able chairman of the Labor Committee in the House, also the next Senator from Maryland—a student, philosopher, and worker—recently in an analytical speech in the House enumerated 15 important statutes touching labor which have passed the House in the last six years, 13 of which are now laws, the other two awaiting the action of the Senate. Every man with brains in his head and love of country and of humanity in his heart rejoices in these laws intended to improve the condition of the laborers of the land. We have passed many other good laws which I have not mentioned.

The chances are the voters of America will act on the sage dictum of Abraham Lincoln, that “it is unwise to swap horses while crossing the stream,” and continue the Democrats in power.

The people seem to have absolute confidence in the pilot of the ship of state, Woodrow Wilson, and are not likely to drop him overboard in midocean while the storm whips the waters into fury.

He did his duty; the Democratic House did its duty; the Democratic Senate did its duty, and the word “duty” is the sublimest word in our vernacular. We submit that we deserve well of the Republic—all of us. Thomas Campbell said:

I watch the wheels of nature's mazy plan,
And read the future from the past of man.

DUTY FAITHFULLY DISCHARGED.

Having discharged our duty and been faithful to our trust so far, the people will assume that we will do our duty and be faithful even unto the end.

It is written: “By their works ye shall know them.” Men are measured more by what they do than by what they say. We rest our case upon the things we have accomplished as an earnest of what we will accomplish if continued in power.

Ours is a magnificent, a wonderful record, which anybody save a stark idiot can easily and successfully defend. Upon that unequaled record we confidently appeal to the grand inquest of the Nation in the impending campaign.

GUARANTEES BETTER RURAL ROADS.

Your State put up half, Uncle Sam will furnish the other half, for good country roads at a cost not exceeding \$10,000 a mile. Each project is to be supervised by the federal department of agriculture. Each State Legislature must accept the act and provide its half of the money, or it cannot benefit from the new system. If it works well during the next five years in which the \$85,000,000 of federal funds thus become available, then the plan may be continued.

A good road from every farm to every market is now a possibility. These better rural post roads will supplement the improved country highways and good roads between large towns and cities. Such appropriations are preparedness for peace or war.—Farm and Home.

EFFICIENT HANDLING OF NATIONAL EXPENDITURES

Bulk of Republican Vote is Cast in Congress for All Money Bills— Charge of Extravagance Exploded

APPROPRIATIONS have been vigilantly scrutinized by Congress throughout the Wilson administration. There has been liberality in keeping with the wonderful growth of the Nation's wealth and prosperity; but the increases involve moneys used either to assure the country's safety against military aggression or to provide new or expanded facilities of needed public service.

CLINCHING EVIDENCE OF THE CARE AND EFFICIENCY WITH WHICH AUTHORIZATIONS OF EXPENDITURES HAVE BEEN MADE IS FOUND IN THE FACT THAT MANY REPUBLICANS IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS VOTED FOR ALL THE MEASURES CARRYING APPROPRIATIONS WHICH WERE BROUGHT BEFORE THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE BY THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITIES.

In his speech accepting the Republican nomination for the Presidency, and in other addresses, former Justice Charles E. Hughes saw fit to echo the charge of extravagance against the Democratic administration and the Democratic Congress thoughtlessly made by a few Republicans in Congress and some of the Republican newspapers. The charge of extravagance must have been made without reflection by these Republicans and similarly echoed by their candidate for the Presidency, because even a hasty examination of the records of the two houses of Congress would have shown that if there had been extravagance in appropriations, the Republican members of those bodies were equally guilty with the Democrats of carelessness in voting away the people's money.

THE BILL FOR PREPAREDNESS.

In fact, the records would have disclosed that in making the appropriations for putting the country in a state of adequate defense by increasing the army and the navy, the Democratic majority was sharply criticized by members of the Republican minority for not granting larger sums for defence purposes, immense as were the sums actually agreed on by the Democratic leaders for military preparedness. These sums, as carried in the army and navy appropriation acts for the fiscal year 1917, were respectively \$267,596,530.10 and \$313,300,095, as against \$101,974,195.87 and \$149,661,864.88 in the army and navy bills for the fiscal year 1916.

A further inspection of the record of votes on money bills in Senate and House during the first session of the 64th Congress shows the highly interesting fact that not one of these bills, either the regular appropriation bills or other similar bills calling for the expenditure of money, failed to receive the votes of numbers of Republicans, large or small. This is true even of the administration's Ship Purchase bill, which was so bitterly assailed by Republican leaders as dangerous and Socialistic. When this measure passed the House, on May 20 last, 13 members of the minority voted for it. So, too, the war revenue bill received the support of no less than 42 members of the opposition when it passed the House on July 10, 1916.

UNANIMOUS FOR MANY BILLS.

Still more indicative of the foolishness of charges of extravagance by the Republicans against the Democratic majority in Congress is the fact that the Republicans in both houses appear to have been unanimously in favor of many of the appropriation bills for the fiscal year 1917 as framed by the Democratic majority, for no less than nine of these measures went through both House and Senate by acclamation. If any Republican objected to them, he did not think it worth while to demand a roll-call, so that the members might be placed on record. The nine money bills passed by acclamation in both houses were the Post-office appropriation bill, carrying \$322,905,679, the Agricultural, carrying \$26,948,852; the Diplomatic and Consular, carrying \$5,355,096.66; the Pension bill, carrying \$158,065,000; the Sundry Civil, carrying \$128,246,445.24; the Army bill, whose amount is given above; the Urgent Deficiency, carrying \$53,267,298.34; the Military Academy bill, carrying \$2,238,328.57; the Indian bill, carrying \$10,967,644.88.

NOES MIGHTY SCARCE.

For other appropriation bills as framed by the Democratic majority the Republicans were almost unanimous. We find, for instance, that the Fortifications bill, carrying appropriations of \$25,748,050, passed the House with only 2 negative votes and passed the Senate by acclamation; the District of Columbia bill passed the House by acclamation; the Navy bill passed the House June 2 with but 4 votes against it and had but 8 votes against it in the Senate, 24 Republican Senators supporting it; the Legislative, Executive and Judicial bill, carrying \$37,925,690.25, passed the House March 4 on a rising vote of 189 to 4 and passed the Senate April 8 by acclamation; the Good Roads bill, carrying \$6,000,000 for the current year, passed the House Feb. 10 by a vote of 283 to 81, no less than 110 of the opposition supporting it, and was adopted in the Senate by acclamation; and finally the Rural Credits bill, carrying \$15,100,000, passed the Senate May 4 with 16 Republicans voting aye and only 5 voting no, and went through the House May 15 with 102 Republicans voting aye and 10 voting no.

In view of this record of the Republicans in Congress in connection with the passage of almost every one of the ap-

propriation bills for the current fiscal year, further comment is unnecessary. If the charge of extravagance against the Democrats is repeated during the campaign by the Republican Presidential candidate or other Republican candidates or stump speakers, it will only demonstrate further that the Republicans are dishonest and desperate in their methods of campaigning and hard pressed for ammunition to assail their opponents.

No ground for honest criticism by Republicans can be found even in the circumstance that many of the regular appropriation bills for the fiscal year 1917 carry totals larger than those of the same bills for the fiscal year 1916. In every instance the increases can be traced to legitimate public needs due to the increase of the population of the country, the increased demands on the Government incident to increased prosperity, the growing disposition of the people of all sections to look more and more to the Federal Government for assistance in matters affecting more than a single state and to peculiar circumstances growing out of the unprecedented conditions created in this country, as throughout the world, by the great war.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR EMERGENCIES.

In certain instances appropriations have been made by the Democrats to meet sudden emergencies that could be met effectively only by the Federal Government. These appropriations were in the nature of investments and in the end the Government and the people will receive dividends on them either directly or indirectly. In one instance both the Government and the public have drawn dividends, and very substantial dividends, on an investment which the Government made at the outset of the European war to meet the emergency caused by the fabulous jump in war insurance rates. Our export trade was threatened with complete stoppage because of the prohibitive rates asked for marine insurance. In this situation the Democratic administration promptly came to the rescue by inducing Congress to establish a War Risk Insurance Bureau with a capital of \$500,000. Loud objection was made to this plan of relief in some Republican quarters on the ground that it was a Socialistic proposition and that the Federal Government should not go into business. Moreover it was freely predicted that the Government would suffer heavy losses. But up to Aug. 1 last the Government insurance bureau earned and turned into the Treasury \$2,192,348.67 in profits.

Under the present administration the United States has enjoyed a wonderful era of good business and good times. To-day Prosperity shines from blazing furnaces and glowing forges. It echoes from busy docks and from thronged emporiums of trade. Its message of plenty fills the land with the chant of the spindle and of loom, lifting the mortgage from the poor man's home and promising his children a future that seemed impossible before.

—From Martin H. Glynn's keynote speech.

Of a similar nature are two items carried in the big totals of the preparedness appropriations. One of these authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to expend the sum of \$13,000,000 in the erection of a government armor-making plant if he finds that the old-time combination of private armor-makers still insists on trying to force the government to pay exorbitant prices for armor-plate for its naval vessels. It is probable that the government will not be compelled to build its own armor-making plant, for already the private concerns are declaring their readiness to supply the government with armor practically at its own price rather than have their extensive and costly plants for making armor-plate left idle. THE SECOND ITEM IS FOR \$25,000,000 FOR A GOVERNMENT PLANT FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF NITRATES, SO ESSENTIAL NOT ONLY TO AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY BUT ABSOLUTELY INDISPENSABLE FOR THE MAKING OF MANY EXPLOSIVES. At present this country is dependent on the outside world for its supply of nitrates and if we became involved in a foreign war our position would speedily become desperate owing to our lack of material for the manufacture of explosives.

MONEY TO HELP FARMERS.

This year's Agricultural Appropriation bill carries a total of \$26,948,852. Last year's bill carried \$22,971,782 but this had to be supplemented by a special act appropriating \$225,000 and by a deficiency appropriation of \$395,000, carrying the real total for last year's expenses of the Agricultural Department up to \$23,591,782. The increase of more than three million in this year's bill is accounted for by such items as \$1,250,000 for fighting the foot-and-mouth disease in cattle should that dreaded ailment renew its ravages of last year among the herds of the country. It is an emergency fund and may all be turned back into the Treasury. Last year the experts of the Department of Agriculture, working with state officials, spent about \$2,000,000 in fighting foot-and-mouth disease and it is hoped eradicated the plague for the present. The Agricultural bill also carries an item of \$350,000 for war on another cattle pest, the cattle tick, which does so much damage among the herds of the south and southwest. It is plain that appropriations of this kind are good business investments because cattle disease means scarce and high meat to the consumer the country over while the eradication or narrow delimitation of such diseases will have a tendency to make meat cheaper.

A GOOD INVESTMENT.

Another investment that will pay big dividends in the future to the people of the east is an item of \$3,000,000 carried in the Agricultural bill for continuing purchases of mountain forest lands in accordance with the law establishing the White Mountain and Appalachian Forest Reserves. This item alone nearly accounts for the increase in this year's Agricultural appropriation bill.

For the Office of Markets and Rural Organization the Agricultural bill this year carries \$792,590, being an increase of \$308,540 over the allowance of last year's bill for this important work, which was started in 1914 to aid the farmers of the country in reaching consumers more directly and cheaply, to supply them with information as to crop and market conditions, and generally to obtain better results from their labors. The demonstrated utility of the work has been so great that an insistent demand has arisen for its extension.

GETTING DYES FROM GERMANY.

Owing to the complete cessation of the shipment of dyes from Germany as a result of the great war, many American industries have been seriously handicapped in the past year by lack of dyestuffs. To remedy this grave condition and if possible establish in this country a dye-making industry that will render us independent of foreign dyes, an item of \$50,000 was inserted in the Agricultural bill, to be expended by the Bureau of Chemistry, Agricultural Department, for a special investigation of color and dye production. Allowance has also been made to this bureau for an investigation with a view to establishing a potash-producing industry in the United States, another acute need made apparent by the war.

The Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill, which carries \$41,723,935, furnishes conclusive refutation of charges of extravagance made by Republicans against the Democratic administration. The regular appropriation bills for 1915 and 1916 were killed by Republican filibusters. Lump sums for waterway improvements were allowed, in 1915, \$20,000,000, in 1916, 25,000,000. Engineers connected with the work on rivers and harbors have reported that the government lost over \$1,000,000 because the work was not kept up properly in 1915, and stated they were unable to care properly for the government property on the 1916 allowance. They came to Congress this year with a demand for \$44,376,710.

THOSE "CREEKS" YOU READ ABOUT.

The last Republican rivers and harbors appropriation bill, that for 1913, carried \$41,073,094 and contracts authorizing \$6,795,800 more.

Some of the most important items included in this year's bill are demanded imperatively for commerce and defense. The Delaware River appropriation of \$2,000,000 was made that work might be rushed on a deeper channel to the Delaware Bay to meet the demands of the expanding Philadelphia commerce and to open a safe channel to the ship-building yards where several great battleships must be constructed within a few years. East River, New York, gets \$700,000 for a 35-foot channel to the Brooklyn Navy yard, where battleships are now being built, and where naval vessels must rush for repairs when necessary.

The Mississippi River gets \$6,000,000 to push ahead levee construction and channel work north to the Ohio River in an effort to save millions of acres of land from yearly flood inundations and hundreds of millions dollars loss to crops.

Democratic Congressmen have been accused of voting money for improving small streams of no commercial value. There are 16 so-called creeks appropriated for in the rivers and harbors bill, the total being \$375,785. These creeks accommodate a commerce of 5,189,912 tons annually, valued at \$183,034,500. The Federal Government has treated a total of 34 creeks, costing only \$2,141,820, but which accommodate a freight tonnage of 6,430,969, valued at \$196,531,247.

The Legislative, Executive and Judicial appropriation bill carries for 1917 a total of \$37,925,690.25, as compared with \$37,036,164.75 in 1916. The principal increases are: Expenses of collecting the income tax, \$380,000; enlargement of force of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, made necessary because of the additional work, \$24,800; more clerks for State Department because of war conditions in Europe, \$54,080; more clerks for Navy Department, \$26,350; enlarged force for Patent Office because of growth of patent business, this office being a revenue producer, \$52,650; for promotion of commerce with Central and South America, \$75,000, as demanded by business men of this country; additional inspectors for the Steamboat-Inspection Service, \$52,500, which grew out of the agitation following the sinking of the excursion steamer, Eastland, in Chicago Harbor last summer and the drowning of over 700 women and children; and for additional experts at the Bureau of Standards, \$25,000, to make special investigations of aeroplane, naval and other materials which are to go for use in the general plans for defense of the country.

MONEY PUT TO GOOD USE.

The Sundry Civil appropriation bill, the burden bearer for miscellaneous expenses of the government and provider of funds for carrying along contracts entered into during previous years, has a total of \$128,246,445.24 for the present year as compared with \$126,922,750.79 for 1916. But there were other appropriations made in 1916, usually carried in the sundry civil bill, including \$7,083,022.69 in deficiencies, which brought the total of expenditures under this heading for that year up to \$134,055,773.48.

There are many increases in appropriations in this bill for this year, the justification for which is patent. For the Coast Guard there is carried \$5,374,800, an increase of \$31,900. The Coast Guard is to be equipped with aeroplanes for greater efficiency. Interstate Commerce Commission, \$5,440,000, increase \$575,000. This Commission has been charged with special railroad investigations by Congress. Its work of making a physical valuation of railroad properties is extending rapidly.

Federal Trade Commission, \$446,080. This Commission organized its work last year and is launched now on a number of special investigations designed to prevent "big business" indulging in unfair competition as against the smaller business interests.

Armories and arsenals, \$4,470,625; increase, \$3,817,025. This is a part of the general defense program accepted by leaders

of both political parties. Infantry barracks at Hawaii, \$1,127,000; increase, \$964,000. Barracks and quarters at sea-coast defenses in United States, \$420,000; increase, \$395,000.

Railroads in Alaska, \$6,247,620; increase, \$2,247,620. The government is pushing its Alaskan railroad construction work with a view of opening up to development a vast country with wonderful agricultural and mineral possibilities.

The Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill for 1917 carries a total of \$5,355,096.66; last year, \$4,061,280.01. The increase is due in part to increased salaries made necessary by the advancement of Ministers to South and Central American countries to the rank of Ambassadors, and to extraordinary expenses growing out of war conditions in Europe.

THE TOTAL APPROPRIATION FOR THE YEAR FOR ARMY AND NAVY EXCEEDS \$634,000,000.

NAVY ACTS, 1898-1916

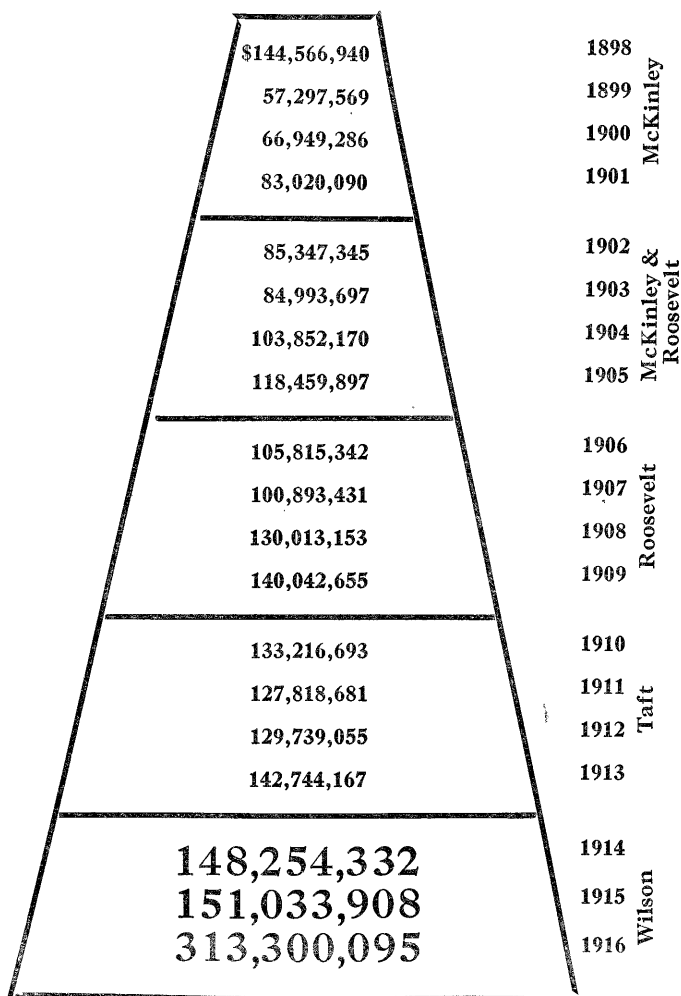


TABLE OF APPROPRIATIONS, 1915, 1916, 1917

The totals of appropriations for the fiscal years 1915, 1916 and for the current fiscal year of 1917 are shown in the following tables:

Title of Acts.	Sixty-third Congress.		Sixty-fourth Congress.
	Appropriations, 1915.	Appropriations, 1916.	Appropriations, 1917.
Agricultural.	\$19,865,832.00	\$22,971,782.00	\$26,948,852.00
Army.	101,019,212.50	101,974,195.87	267,596,530.10
Diplomatic and consular.	4,309,856.66	4,061,280.01	5,355,096.00
District of Columbia.	12,172,539.49	11,859,584.45	11,931,817.34
Fortifications.	5,627,700.00	6,060,216.90	24,620,110.00
Indian.	9,771,902.76	9,771,902.76	10,967,644.88
Legislative, etc.	37,630,229.70	36,904,799.75	37,925,690.25
Military Academy.	997,899.54	1,069,813.37	1,225,143.35
Navy.	144,868,716.61	149,661,864.88	313,300,095.00
Pension (including deficiencies therefor) . . .	169,150,000.00	164,100,000.00	158,065,000.00
Post Office.	313,364,667.00	313,364,667.00	322,905,679.00
River and harbor (including amounts in sundry civil, deficiency and special acts)	26,988,500.00	33,982,000.00	42,886,085.00
Sundry civil (exclusive of amounts for rivers and harbors)	103,081,727.39	122,940,750.79	128,246,445.24
Deficiencies (exclusive of amounts for pensions and rivers and harbors)	23,363,586.61	12,316,343.90	.....
Urgent deficiencies account of war. ....	.....	.....	53,267,288.34
Total.	\$972,212,370.26	\$991,039,201.68	\$1,405,259,476.50
Total regular annual appropriations.	\$984,921,731.55	\$993,369,805.02	.....
Permanent annual appropriations.	131,196,407.00	121,567,207.00	\$135,074,673.00
Grand total.	\$1,116,118,138.55	\$1,114,937,012.02	\$1,540,334,149.50

CHOATE AGREES WITH WILSON.

In short, there ought to be an end of namby-pamby talk about the army and navy. Surely, there is no more approved friend of international peace in our country than the Hon. Joseph H. Choate. Read, then, what he writes in this number of the Review, on our need of efficient means of national defense. He is in perfect agreement with what President Wilson has set forth in his message to Congress of December 8. In another part of this number of the Review (see page 93) there will be found a summary of the current official utterances upon this important question of defense. The period in which we live is too serious to justify those who have a taste for controversy in trying to exaggerate seeming differences of opinion which lend themselves so easily to reconciliation. For our part, President Wilson's words seem statesmanlike and noble. They are wholly compatible with strict and efficient attention to the business of getting the best results out of the vast expenditures for army and navy that are met by the taxpayers.—Review of Reviews, January, 1915.

“PREPAREDNESS” STEP IN DANISH PURCHASE

Wilson Efficiency Succeeds After Republican Administrations Failed Repeatedly

ONE of the principal steps taken by the Wilson Administration in consummating its policy of national preparedness was the negotiation of a treaty for the purchase of the Danish West Indies. Successive Republican Administrations tried and failed to put through this important measure for national safety.

The treaty was signed by Secretary of State Robert Lansing and Swedish Minister Brun, August 4. Immediately the Danish Rigsdag took the treaty under consideration, it being practically certain of ratification. The possessions to be acquired are the islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John. They embrace a total area of 138 square miles and have a population of 32,786.

The United States agrees to pay \$25,000,000 for these valuable possessions and also will cede to the Kingdom of Denmark certain nebulous “rights of discovery” which this Government holds in Greenland.

PROTECTS PANAMA CANAL.

The paramount advantage to be gained by the United States from the acquisition is the large measure of safety which it confers upon the Panama Canal, this Government's priceless possession on the Isthmus of Panama. The strategic wisdom of gaining control of the islands lay not so much in the need that the United States locate a great naval base in one of their harbors, for the United States already possesses such a base at Guantanamo on the Caribbean. It was a danger to the safety and amicable relations of the United States which would result from the acquirement of the islands by some other power, which awakened President Wilson and his advisers to the need for vigorous action.

With the islands safely under her sovereignty, as a result of President Wilson's negotiation of the new treaty, the United States need fear no encroachment upon the principles of the Monroe Doctrine so far as these Caribbean possessions are concerned. This danger always has existed because of the inability of the United States, through the processes of international law, to prevent a transfer of the islands such as would have trenchoned upon the traditional policy of the United States.

REPUBLICANS APPROVE.

Approval of this preparedness measure of the Wilson Administration is indicated in the following statements by Republican members of the Senate:

Senator Lodge, a Republican member of the Senate committee on foreign relations: "In the interest of peace, it is of great importance that these islands should pass into the hands of the United States.

Senator Penrose, the Pennsylvania Republican boss: "The harbor of St. Thomas is one of the finest in the West Indies, and the islands have a great strategic value in relation to the Panama Canal."

The first Republican effort to buy the islands was made by Secretary of State Foster in 1892, but his negotiations were not completed before the end of the Harrison Administration, and the project was abandoned. Ten years later President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hay made another determined effort. A treaty was negotiated, but failed of ratification.

FREEDOM FOR PHILIPPINES

Consistent with its declared and traditional policy toward the Philippines, the Wilson Administration has secured the passage of legislation declarative of the intention of the United States to **free the islands upon the establishment of a stable government.** This action is in exact accord with the Democratic platforms of 1908 and 1912. The critical vote in the Senate showed solid Republican opposition to this legislation.

The official representative in Washington of the people of the Philippine Islands describes this legislation as of greater importance to the Philippine people than anything that has happened in the 350 years of the existence of that nation.

The Democratic Philippine measure, after stating that it is the intention of the United States to grant independence when a stable government is established, includes important new reforms. The present Philippine commission is abolished, and the people of the islands are permitted to elect a Senate. At the same time the new law enlarges the franchise, adding more than half a million voters to the electorate.

The Wilson Philippine legislation offers to the hitherto oppressed and subject Filipinos not only a greater share in their own government, but advances to the utmost practicable extent the date of their final freedom as a nation.

The statesman stands in the midst of life to interpret life in political action.

Politics I conceive to be the science of the ordered progress of society along the lines of greatest usefulness and convenience to itself. I have never in my own mind admitted the distinction between the other departments of life and politics.—Woodrow Wilson.

PARCEL POST SHOWS HUGE GROWTH UNDER WILSON

Democratic Administration Smashes Old Express Monopoly and Develops the Largest, Most Efficient Parcel Service in the World

DEMOCRATIC control of the House of Representatives in 1912 and the cordial support of the Democratic minority in the Senate brought about the enactment of the parcel post law.

For twenty years the efforts of the people to secure a parcel post had been frustrated by the special interests. A Republican Postmaster-General once said that parcel post measures had failed for just four reasons: The Wells-Fargo, the United States, the American and Adams Express Companies.

In the election of 1912, the Republican party was completely repudiated by the election of President Woodrow Wilson and Democratic majorities in the House and Senate. Hence, for three and a half years, the Democratic Administration has had the responsibility of the conduct and development of the parcel post. What report to the public may now be made on this important trust?

THE PEOPLE'S EXPRESS SERVICE.

THE PARCEL POST HAS BECOME A GIGANTIC EXPRESS SERVICE HANDLING MORE THAN ONE BILLION PARCELS A YEAR AT RATES MUCH LESS THAN WERE CHARGED BY THE EXPRESS COMPANIES BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT ENTERED THIS FIELD OF TRANSPORTATION. WHEREVER A RURAL OR A STAR ROUTE GOES, THE PARCEL POST GOES. EVERY COMMUNITY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE LARGEST CITY TO THE SMALLEST HAMLET HAS CHEAP, EFFICIENT PARCEL-EXPRESS; AND THIS MARVELOUSLY COMPLETE FACILITY EVEN COLLECTS AND DELIVERS PARCELS PRACTICALLY AT THE FRONT DOORS OF THE MILLIONS OF FARMERS SERVED BY THE 44,000 RURAL ROUTES OF THE COUNTRY. IT IS THE LARGEST, THE MOST GENERAL, THE QUICKEST AND BEST EXPRESS SERVICE IN THE WORLD.

During the two months in which the Republican Taft administration was charged with the conduct of the parcel post system, it had fallen far short of meeting the demands either of business men or the general public. The expansion is directly due to successive liberalizations of the rates, weight limits and other regulations under the Wilson Administration, as follows:

1. Reducing postage for distances up to the sixth zone;
2. Increasing the weight limit from 11 to 50 pounds in

the first and second zones and from 11 to 20 pounds beyond the second zone;

3. Admitting books to parcel post;
4. Increasing the size limit from 72 inches to 84 inches combined length and girth measurement;
5. Reducing the cost of insurance from ten cents to three cents on parcels valued at \$5 or less and introducing a graduated scale of low insurance fee for greater values up to \$100;
6. Authorizing the insurance of receipts for parcels shipped, which serve as evidences of mailing.

AS A FARMER'S FACILITY.

Special effort has been made to perfect parcel post as a farmer's express facility. To that end the shipment of farm products from farm to city has been encouraged and developed on a large scale. This opens new markets to the farmer and provides a method by which city householders obtain fresh country products of better quality and at cheaper prices than before. Day and night delivery of perishable articles has been introduced in many cities.

DAMAGE TO PARCELS IN TRANSIT BY PARCEL POST HAS BEEN REDUCED TO ONE-TENTH OF ONE PER CENT.

The handling of the holiday mail in December, 1913, 1914 and 1915, subjected to crucial test the ability of the postal organization to conduct the parcel post successfully under emergency conditions.

THE RESULT WAS AN ACHIEVEMENT WHOLLY UNEXPECTED BY THE PUBLIC, THE DELIVERY OF THE MAIL, WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS, BEING COMPLETED BEFORE THE CLOSE OF BUSINESS LAST CHRISTMAS DAY, ALTHOUGH MANY POST-OFFICES REPORTED AN INCREASE IN THE VOLUME OF MAIL AMOUNTING TO FROM 200 TO 500 PER CENT. ON EACH OCCASION.

THE MORAL COWARD.

I HAVE had the fortune to take part in affairs of a considerable variety of sorts, and I have tried to hate as few persons as possible, but there is an exquisite combination of contempt and hate that I have for a particular kind of person, and that is the moral coward. I wish we could give all our cowards a perpetual vacation. Let them go off and sit on the side lines and see us play the game; and put them off the field if they interfere with the game. They do nothing but harm, and they do it by that most subtle and fatal thing of all, that of taking the momentum and the spirit and the forward dash out of things. A man who is virtuous and a coward has no marketable virtue about him.—President Wilson's Address at Y. M. C. A. Celebration, Pittsburgh, Pa., October 24, 1914.

WHY WOODROW WILSON DESERVES RE-ELECTION

—William J. Bryan

“Even Jackson Never Met the Situation Better than Woodrow Wilson Has Met It”

(Extracts from address delivered by Mr. Bryan at the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis, 1916.)

IN dealing with the domestic problems, our President, our Senate and our House have joined together in giving the country a program of constructive legislation that has no parallel in all the history of this country.

You may take all the administrations from the beginning of our republic to the beginning of this administration, and you will not find as many laws written upon the statute books, of great importance to the people as you will find written in the last three years by Woodrow Wilson and a Democratic Congress.

We found the Republican Party in power, with a tariff law written by the beneficiaries of protection. The President called Congress together as soon as it could be assembled. He presented the pledge of our platform to reduce the tariff, and the members of our party, co-operating as the President and Congress have seldom co-operated before, redeemed the pledge and wrote upon the statute books the best tariff law we have had in this country in 50 years. * * *

JACKSON'S EQUAL.

As soon as the tariff question had been settled the President asked Congress to give consideration to the question of currency reform. For twenty years the Republican Party had advocated currency reform. It had admitted the need of currency reform, but it never had the courage to undertake currency reform.

The Democratic Party, true to its promise and its pledge, prepared a bill, and that bill is now a law, thanks to the courage of a President who was not afraid of Wall Street.

No president since Jackson has had to meet such an unholy combination of the powers of high finance, and even Jackson himself never met the situation better than Woodrow Wilson has met it. We have just commenced to learn what that law means for this nation. Even before it became a law we learned what it meant to have the White House on the side of the people.

A PANIC PREVENTED.

An attempt was being made to create a panic for the purpose of compelling the abandonment of this proposed legislation. When the evidence, as it came in from different sections of the country, was sufficient, the Secretary of the Treasury went to the White House—and I want to call your attention to that fact that he went to the WHITE HOUSE and not to the kings of Wall Street, as Republican Secretaries had been in the habit of doing—and after a brief conference with the Executive he gave a statement to the public announcing that, if any community anywhere needed money to tide it over a temporary embarrassment, it need not go to Wall Street, but could come to Washington, that the Government stood for all the people and was ready to protect them.

What was the result? The result was that that proposed panic was nipped in the bud. "It folded its tent like the Arab and silently stole away," and since that time no new panics have been born.

This great piece of legislation, the greatest piece of constructive statesmanship in a generation, has not only broken the hold of Wall Street upon the business of the nation, but it has broken the grip of Wall Street upon the politics of the United States. * * *

MEXICAN SITUATION INHERITED.

We inherited from a Republican Administration an insurrection in Mexico. It did not arise under this Administration. You will find in the State Department a telegram sent by Huerta to the preceding President: "I have overthrown the government."

Yes, the government was overthrown, and this Administration has dealt with that situation and the Republican Party dare not challenge a verdict before the country on the Mexican question.

Your great Chairman to-day pointed out that our policy had followed the precedent set by one of the most illustrious of our Presidents, the greatest Republican President, Abraham Lincoln; and he showed also what would have been the result had we yielded to the importunities of interested parties, or to the threats of Republican politicians, and invaded Mexico for the purpose of intervention.

The President will not lack those who will defend his conduct. Aye, in every home you will find a mother who will thank the President that her boy has not been sent to Mexico to die in the trenches.

We have a few men interested in ranches, and a few interested in mines, who would use the blood of American soldiers to guarantee profits on their investments in a foreign land. But that is not the sentiment of the American people. The people of this country stand back of Woodrow Wilson in his determination not to intervene in the affairs of Mexico. * * *

THE EUROPEAN WAR.

I appeal to the sense of justice of the American people; when in God's time, the honor of mediating shall fall to this nation, is it fair that the honor shall fall to one who has not borne the burden in the heat of the day? Is not the President of the United States, who for two years has borne a burden such as few men on earth have ever been called upon to carry—if he has been able to protect the neutrality of this nation and to save it from participation in this awful war—should not the honor of being peacemaker come to him, and to the party that selected him?

Why does the Republican Party, some of whose leaders have tried to force the President into this war, come now, when their efforts have failed, and ask the honor of being mediator between the contending nations?

We have a record upon which we can appeal to the people for their support, without fear and without blush. I believe the American people, grateful for what this Administration has done, grateful that we have peace in this country while war stalks throughout the world, will not be unmindful of the fact that it was a Democratic President supported by a Democratic Senate and House who has thus saved the country from the horrors of war.

As a lover of my country and as a Democrat I join you in the endeavor to give to Woodrow Wilson the opportunity to perform this task for the nation and the world.

AGRICULTURE NO LONGER NEGLECTED.

SUCH encouragement for better rural post roads proves that Congress at last realizes the government's duty to foster the country rather than the city. Statesmen and politicians at last favor economic policies that may give the farmer a better chance.

Further proof of this is afforded by such constructive new laws as—

1. The Federal Farm Loan Act for farm mortgage reform.
2. The Federal warehousing system whereby farmers may own and operate storage places under national supervision, so as to assemble, grade, pack and market produce to better advantage.
3. The Cotton Futures Act and other laws to assist producers toward better methods of distribution and marketing.
4. The Federal trade commission, which may yet prove the farmers' protector against unfair business practices.—Farm and Home.

FINANCIAL PREPAREDNESS

New Bank Act Prevented Disaster in America After European War Began and Helped Nation to Finance Its Present Huge Business

EVERY intelligent, fair-minded American banker concedes that the existence of the Federal Reserve Act, with its assurance of an early rescue from the fetters of the National Bank Act, prevented a total collapse of credits in this country in the crisis of early August, 1914, occasioned by the outbreak of the European war.

Knowledge that the Federal Reserve Board, composed of men of the highest calibre, had been appointed and was rapidly organizing the new banking system effectually served to steady the shaking structure of business throughout the United States.

The new law formed the foundation upon which other war emergency measures were successfully predicated. It not only gave confidence at the moment; it gave guarantee of fiscal facilities both at home and abroad with which to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the war conditions to expand America's foreign trade.

Thus, in less than a year after the victorious end of the fight to secure this law, the country had ample cause to realize its obligation to President Wilson and the Democratic majorities of the House and Senate, who, with unfailing courage and unswerving purpose, made the fight. After working all the summer of 1913 upon the tariff, the President and Congress worked all the fall and well into the winter upon the Currency bill—and "put it over."

The great statute has given priceless service in our flush times as well as in the hour of need. As 1914 merged into 1915 and a tide of prosperity set in for the United States such as the world has never witnessed in one country, the demands upon the American finance, though of another kind, became enormous. We were "prepared," thanks to Woodrow Wilson, to take full advantage of the opportunity which has involved supplying the multitudinous needs not only of the warring nations of Europe but of the other great neutral nations of the world also.

NATION OWES ITS FINANCIAL FREEDOM TO WOODROW WILSON

The President's "Master Mind" Secured the Passage of the Federal Reserve Act and Established an Elastic Currency System in the United States

(There are many men who have expressed eloquently and well the magnitude of President Woodrow Wilson's service to his country in bringing before Congress early in 1913 the urgent currency question, and by his patience, perseverance and uncompromising courage in securing the enactment of the law now known as the Federal Reserve Act. Undoubtedly, however, the best equipped spokesman upon the subject is Representative Carter Glass of Virginia, Chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, who shared the honors of the law's authorship with Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma. Of several addresses delivered by Mr Glass upon this theme, none—in the sense both of stating the full present-day significance of this "Act of Financial Deliverance" and of appraising the obligation in which the country stands debtor to President Wilson for his successful fight to settle the currency problem—excels the address delivered April 13, 1916, before the Common Council Club at its Jefferson Day Banquet in Washington, D. C. This address contains both inspiration and information and should be read by every open-minded man in America, whether he be Democrat, Republican, Progressive, Independent, Socialist or Prohibitionist. This speech is therefore included practically in full in the Democratic National Text Book of 1916.)

SPEECH OF HON. CARTER GLASS AT JEFFERSON DAY BANQUET.

FIVE TIMES WITHIN THIRTY YEARS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE ADVENT OF THIS ADMINISTRATION, A FINANCIAL CATASTROPHE HAD OVERTAKEN US RIGHT IN THE MIDST OF APPARENT BUSINESS PROSPERITY AND CONTENTMENT. EACH TIME THE DISASTER WAS DUE LARGELY, IF NOT ALTOGETHER, TO A DEFECTIVE BANKING AND CURRENCY SYSTEM; AND IT IS LITERALLY CERTAIN THAT OUR ALWAYS TEDIOUS RESTORATION WAS RENDERED VASTLY MORE DIFFICULT AND PAINFUL BY THE SAD LACK OF WELL-DEvised FACILITIES.

The old system had two fundamental defects. One was an inelastic currency; the other a fictitious bank reserve. They were Siamese twins of disorder; and sometimes I am inclined to ascribe the invariable failure of our Republican friends to reform the financial system of the country to their unwillingness to subdue both of these evils at the same time. * * *

WHY OLD SYSTEM FAILED

The national currency was inelastic because based on the bonded indebtedness of the United States, rather than upon the sound liquid business assets of the country. For 50 years we proceeded upon the assumption that the country always needed a volume of currency equal to its bonded indebtedness, and never at any time required less, whereas we frequently did not need near as much as was outstanding and just as often could have absorbed vastly more than was available. Hence, when it happened that the circulating medium was redundant, when its volume was too great to be used in local commercial transactions, instead of taking it through the expensive process of retirement it was bundled off to the great reserve centers at a nominal interest rate, to be thrown, at call, into the vortex of stock speculation.

In a different way and to an immeasurably greater extent the business of the country was made to suffer by this rigid currency system in times of stirring development and enterprising activity. It could not begin to meet the commercial and industrial requirements of the country. For example, the total capitalization of the national banks of a given community in time of stress, under the old system, measured the full capacity of those banks to respond to the currency requirements of the locality. If the combined capital stock of the national banks of a city was \$5,000,000, that exactly circumscribed the ability of those banks to supply currency of their own issue to meet the demands of business, albeit these might necessitate the use of \$10,000,000 or more. AND IN TIME OF PANIC, SUCH AS THAT WHICH CONVULSED THE COUNTRY IN 1907, HAD THESE BANKS HELD \$5,000,000 OF GILT-EDGE SHORT-TIME COMMERCIAL PAPER IN THEIR VAULTS, THEY COULD NOT, UNDER THE OLD SYSTEM, HAVE EXCHANGED A DOLLAR OF IT FOR CURRENCY WHEREWITH TO MAKE UP THE DEFICIENCY AND PROMPTLY RESPOND TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF BUSINESS, FOR PRACTICALLY ALL THE BANKS WERE IN THE SAME DESPERATE PLIGHT, EVERY ONE, WITH RARE EXCEPTIONS, LOOKING OUT FOR ITSELF. WITH NO OTHER SOURCE OF SUPPLY.

A NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENT.

The first notable financial achievement of the Wilson administration was to revolutionize this wretched currency system, the unhappy victims of which are without number and the losses beyond human approximation. We substituted for a rigid bond-secured circulating medium, unresponsive at any time to the commercial requirements of this great Nation,

a perfectly elastic currency, based on the sound, liquid commercial assets of the country, responsive at all times and to the fullest extent to every reasonable demand of legitimate enterprise. It comes forth when required and is canceled when not needed. The amount is ample when business is active and only enough when business is lax.

Contra-distinguished from bond-secured currency, every dollar of it is based on a stable commercial transaction, whether of a mercantile, industrial, or agricultural nature, fortified by a 40 per cent. gold reserve, by the assets of a great banking system, by the double liability of member banks, and by the plighted faith of a Government of a hundred million free citizens.

So that in a case similar to the one cited a while ago, where the banks of a given community, with \$5,000,000 of liquid commercial assets, could not, under the old system, in time of stress, get a dollar of currency on their holdings, because there was no source of supply, the same banks, under the Federal Reserve System, could exchange their \$5,000,000 of liquid assets at a Federal reserve bank for \$5,000,000 of the best currency on earth, less a fair rate of discount. That one reform, gentlemen, represents the difference between disaster and success. * * *

A PANIC BREEDER.

And, likewise, the old system was a rank panic breeder. In periods of greatest business activity the country was made to suffer desperately for lack of adequate credit facilities. When the prospect was brightest; when men of vision and ambition and energy would press forward in pursuit of prosperity and the hum of industry would literally be heard throughout the land, two links in the chain would suddenly snap, tearing to shreds the whole business fabric and carrying dismay to every community on the continent.

That is to say, in plain terms, that when the country banks of the United States, trying to respond to the commercial and industrial demands upon them in their respective localities, being unable to issue additional currency, would seek to draw in their reserve balances from the congested centers, and when the big banks of these centers would in turn, be compelled to call their loans on stock, thus contracting the credit facilities of "the street," interest rates would quickly jump, mounting higher and higher, until panic would ensue, banks throughout the country would stop payments across the counter and consternation would reign where confidence and contentment so soon before had prevailed. I have said the losses are beyond computation; and that is so. They affected not only the financial institutions immediately involved, but the merchants whose credits were suspended; the industries whose shops were closed; the railroads whose cars were made idle; the farmers whose crops rotted in the fields; the laborer who was deprived of his wage. No business enterprise, if any individual, ever entirely escaped.

Another great achievement of the Wilson administration, therefore, was to remedy this monstrous condition. NO OTHER LEGISLATIVE EFFORT, AS I RECALL THE

HISTORY OF EVENTS, WAS EVER DIRECTED AGAINST THIS BANK-RESERVE EVIL. IT REQUIRED COURAGE. IT CONSTITUTED A CHALLENGE TO THE DOMINATING FINANCIAL INTERESTS OF AMERICA, AND THEY ACCEPTED THE INVITATION TO THE CONFLICT. IT WAS A MEMORABLE FIGHT, IN WHICH SOUND ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES TRIUMPHED SO COMPLETELY THAT MANY OF THE GREAT BANKERS WHO SEEMED ONCE IMPLACABLE NOW CONCEDE THAT A TREMENDOUS ADVANCE HAS BEEN MADE IN THE DIRECTION OF SCIENTIFIC BANKING, AND THERE IS A GENERAL CONCURRENCE OF BELIEF THAT THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM SAVED THIS COUNTRY FROM A FINANCIAL CONVULSION IN THE FATEFUL AUTUMN OF 1914, EVEN BEFORE IT WAS IN FULL OPERATION.

We corrected this vicious bank reserve system by establishing regional reserve banks and making them, instead of private banks in the money centers, the custodians of the reserve funds of the United States; by making these regional banks, instead of private correspondent banks, the great rediscount agencies of the country; by requiring these regional banks to minister to commerce and industry rather than to the schemes of speculative adventure. UNDER THE OLD REGIME WE HAD BEEN TAUGHT TO BELIEVE THAT THE BALANCE OF THE COUNTRY WAS DEPENDENT ON THE MONEY CENTERS. UNDER THE NEW DISPENSATION THE FACT HAS BEEN REVEALED THAT THE MONEY CENTERS ARE DEPENDENT ON THE BALANCE OF THE COUNTRY. Under the old system the country banks were subservient to the money centers, for only there could they resort for rediscount favors. Under the new system it is no longer a question of favor; it is purely a question of business. Under the old system it was at times a question of ability to serve, and at other times of willingness. The new system supplies both the ability and the incentive to do business. INDEED, THIS FINANCIAL PRODUCT OF THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION IS BOTH A PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION AND A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE FOR THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES.

NEW YORK'S PRIMACY UNDISTURBED.

I noted the other day that a Representative in Congress tauntingly referred to the fact that bank deposits in New York had vastly increased since the adoption of the Federal reserve act, and triumphantly asked what had become of the boast that the primacy of New York as a money center would under the new system depart. Such talk, however specious it may seem, is assuredly not sensible.

Nobody ever made such a silly boast. Nobody ever dreamed of such a stupid notion. Nobody ever pretended to desire anything of the kind. Of course, New York has more deposits under the Federal reserve act than ever before. So

has Pittsburgh, so has Boston, so has Baltimore, so has Richmond, so has Chicago, so has San Francisco, so has Dallas, so have the banks of a thousand other communities scattered from one end to the other of this country.

That is exactly what we expected; that is precisely what we predicted; that is the very thing the Federal reserve act was designed to accomplish. It was contrived for the express purpose of putting the whole national banking system on such a sound basis as to create confidence and stimulate business and swell the volume of deposits of every community of the United States.

People put their money in banks now, and banks redeposit with other banks now, because they know that under the new system no panic will ever come to keep them from getting their funds back.

The proponents of the Federal reserve act had no idea of impairing the rightful prestige of New York as the financial metropolis of this hemisphere. They rather expected to confirm its distinction, and even hoped to assist powerfully in wresting the scepter from London and eventually making New York the financial center of the world.

Eminent Englishmen with the keenest perception have frankly expressed apprehension of such result. Indeed, momentarily this has come to pass. And we may point to the amazing contrast between New York under the old system in 1907, shaken to its very foundations because of two bank failures, and New York at the present time, under the new system, serenely secure in its domestic banking operations and confidently financing the great enterprises of European nations at war.

AN INSPIRING CONTRAST.

In 1907, after six years of Theodore Roosevelt and 43 years of the old system, New York could not let a country bank have \$50,000 of bank currency to meet the ordinary requirements of commerce or the pay rolls of industry.

In 1915, after three years of Woodrow Wilson and one year of the new system, New York let two European nations, in the very cataclysm of a stupendous war, have \$500,000,000, still leaving the banks of that city with larger deposits than ever before in their existence. OH, YES, MR. TOASTMASTER, NEW YORK CITY BANKS HAVE GREATER DEPOSITS TO-DAY THAN THEY HAD 17 MONTHS AGO BY \$605,000,000, THUS PUTTING TO SHAME THE EVIL REPUBLICAN PROPHECY THAT THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT WOULD CREATE A DISASTROUS CONSTRICTION OF COMMERCIAL CREDITS AND PRECIPITATE A PANIC OF UNSURPASSED VIOLENCE IN THIS COUNTRY.

THE COUNTRY'S RESERVE SECURE.

But, with all this, there are some things that New York once had which it has not to-day and never will have again as long as the Federal reserve act shall remain on the statute books. It has not the gold reserve funds of the country for use in the stock markets of "the Street," nor has it any longer

the power to control the rediscounting system of the United States upon terms of its own adjustment.

To-day 12 regional banks of the new system, strung from Maine to Mexico, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, hold more than \$500,000,000 of these funds, and soon will have many millions more, to be used as basic credit facilities for cheerfully rediscounting the commercial paper of the merchants and manufacturers, the farmers and stockmen, the exporters and importers of America, with not a dollar for the whirlpool of speculation. And these trade loans are already being made at an average rate of interest 1 1-2 per cent. lower than has prevailed before in a long number of years.

THE MASTER MIND.

As to the Federal reserve act itself there has been occasional speculation as to who most deserves credit for its conception and its enactment into law. Its paternity has curiously been ascribed to men who were savagely hostile to the act; to men who never saw a sentence of the original draft; to men who could not write its title in a month's trial.

I know very well that the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House has been given an undue part of the praise. But commendation so seldom is applied to a public man that I have never repelled the pleasant things said of me. With outward gravity and inward amusement I have heard myself accused of statesmanship, and—have liked it.

BUT, GENTLEMEN, THE SERIOUS FACT IS THAT THE MASTER MIND OF THE WHOLE PERFORMANCE WAS WOODROW WILSON'S. IT WAS HIS INFINITE PRECISENESS AND PATIENCE; IT WAS HIS ADMIRABLE COURAGE AND WISDOM; IT WAS HIS PATRIOTISM AND POWER — HIS PASSION TO SERVE MANKIND—THAT GAVE ZEST AND INSPIRATION TO THE BATTLE FOR FINANCIAL FREEDOM. AND WHEN, ON THE EVENING OF DECEMBER 23, 1913, HE AFFIXED HIS SIGNATURE AND SEAL TO HOUSE BILL 7837, THERE WAS CONSUMMATED IN THE OFFICES OF THE WHITE HOUSE THE GREATEST LEGISLATIVE MIRACLE OF OUR TIME.

IT IS BECAUSE I REALIZE NOW AS NEVER BEFORE THE INEVITABLY DANGEROUS AS WELL AS THE TREMENDOUSLY BENEFICENT POTENTIALITIES OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM THAT I EARNESTLY PRAY FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE MAN WHO MAY MOST BE RELIED ON TO ADMINISTER THE LAW TO THE LASTING GOOD, AND NOT TO THE INJURY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Why did we want a rural credit law? To facilitate the flow of money to the land and to render that process as cheap as possible.

Well, we have a rural credit law. * * *—The Dakota Farmer.

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT IN BUSINESS TODAY

Freedom of Panics, Secure Credit, a Sound Dollar Always Good, and Financial Local Self Government are Among Its Blessings

UNDER the leadership of President Wilson the Democratic Party in nine months created and put into successful operation a safe and efficient banking and currency system. The Republican Party, through more than forty years of opportunity, had been afraid to do this work or pitifully incapable of doing it, although it presented the most important and pressing problem we had, and involved the welfare of every citizen, every home and family in the land.

With the old system, inadequate and outgrown, but maintained and defended to the last by the Republicans, we had successive panics. WITH THE NEW SYSTEM, CREATED, SHAPED AND APPLIED BY THE DEMOCRATS, WE HAVE COME THROUGH THE TREMENDOUS STRAIN FORCED UPON OUR BUSINESS BY THE EUROPEAN WAR WITHOUT A PANIC. We not only met the shock, but are enjoying greater prosperity and stability than ever before in our history. Facts tell with the people. We have plainly before us the facts of vast activity, perfect confidence and unexampled prosperity.

THE CHANGE FROM THE OLD SYSTEM TO THE NEW WAS MADE WITHOUT JAR OR DISTURBANCE, ALTHOUGH IT WAS PRACTICALLY A REVERSAL OF THE THEORIES DIRECTING OUR FINANCIAL SYSTEM. The Republican theory is the concentration of the supreme power of wealth in a few hands. The Democratic theory is the lawful and natural distribution of wealth and power among the people. It is in exact accord with the foundation principles on which our form of government was established.

THE FORMER MONOPOLY OF MONEY.

The old Republican system forced the control of our currency supply into the keeping of powerful groups or a small number of men in a few great cities. It swept the real power to determine our prosperity or misery, or the advancement or injury of any section or community or individual, into the control of hidden and ever-narrowing circles, the membership and purposes of which the general public could not know.

All enterprises, as a rule, must from time to time borrow money. All of them must sell on credit; mines, manufacturers, jobbers, retailers, farmers—even a railroad, though selling its transportation usually for cash, must get money with which to meet its payrolls and operating expenses until the agents have turned in their collections. The law maintained so

THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT—

Created Twelve Regional Reserve Banks amply equipped to accommodate the entire business of the country with rediscount facilities.

Furnished facilities of expanding the nation's currency and credit to an extent in keeping with the country's enormous wealth.

Terminated a system under which the reserve money of the country was concentrated in two or three great money centers, where it was used for stock speculation rather than to accommodate commerce, industry and agriculture.

Transferred tremendous reserve funds to twelve geographical centers, for the ready use of the respective twelve sections of the country in the accommodation of legitimate business.

Ended the danger of panics by basing currency upon live commercial assets so that it automatically responds to commercial, industrial and agricultural requirements, expanding when business is brisk and contracting when business is slack.

Provided means whereby foreign branches of Federal Reserve banks have been established, which assist materially in keeping and expanding our foreign commerce.

Established for the first time in history an open discount market where commercial bills and commercial paper may at all times be discounted at low rates of interest.

Created the Federal Reserve Board which has brought about a well-balanced control of interest rates and of the expansion and contraction of currency.

IN WHAT LIGHT MR. HUGHES MAY REGARD THIS SUPREME ACHIEVEMENT OF DEMOCRACY HE HAS NOT STATED. IF HE DESIRES TO REPEAL THE LAW, OR TO AMEND IT, HE HAS REFRAINED FROM SAYING SO. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S POSITION, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN MADE VERY CLEAR BY ITS MEMBERS IN CONGRESS. THEY WANT TO SUBSTITUTE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PLAN A HUGE CENTRAL BANK CONTROLLED BY WALL STREET BANKS AND OPERATED IN THE INTEREST OF WALL STREET FINANCIERS.

long by the Republicans was a force pump carrying the ready money or currency supply of the country to New York, Chicago and St. Louis, the three "Central Reserve Cities," and putting the borrowing chances of the general citizen at the mercy of the powers in those cities. Outside of about fifty "Reserve" and "Central Reserve" cities, every National Bank was required to keep a so-called Reserve Fund, equal to 15 per cent. of its total deposits. Of this Reserve Fund, three-fifths was sent from the vaults of the local banks for deposit in National Banks in the "Reserve" and "Central Reserve" cities. The National Banks in the "Reserve" cities were required to keep reserves equal to 25 per cent. of their total deposits, including the deposits received from the local banks; and of this reserve they kept one-half in their vaults and the other one-half—or 12½ per cent. of all their deposits—they piled up in the National Banks in the three "Central Reserve" cities, viz., New York, Chicago and St. Louis.

To illustrate: A country National Bank in Ohio, with de-

posits built up in its community aggregating \$1,500,000, had to hold 15 per cent. of them, or \$225,000, in reserve. Of this \$225,000 it held \$90,000 in its own vaults, and usually sent \$135,000 of the money to a National Bank in a Central Reserve or Reserve city, say Cincinnati. The Cincinnati bank held one-fourth of that amount in its own reserve; and of this reserve it kept one-half in its own vault and sent the other half for its credit to National Banks in New York, Chicago or St. Louis.

BIG CENTERS CONTROLLED RESERVES.

It sifted down to the fact that three-fifths of the reserves of all the country banks, under the provisions of the old law, was fed to the banks in the Reserve and Central Reserve cities; and half of all the reserves of the National Banks in the fifty or more Reserve Cities was piled up in the three Central Reserve cities, hundreds and sometimes thousands of miles away, and kept there.

An investigation made by the Comptroller of the Currency early in 1914, immediately after the passage of the Federal Reserve Act, showed that the principles of concentration had been carried so far that the National Banks alone in six large cities had on deposit from other banks—National and State—and trust companies throughout the United States (exclusive of individual deposits) approximately one billion, five hundred million dollars (\$1,500,000,000); and that the total amount of money which these National Banks in these half dozen large cities were lending back to all other banks and trust companies throughout the country, on Bills Payable and Rediscunts, including indirect loans, was only one hundred and ten million dollars (\$110,000,000)—less than 8 per cent. of the amount held by them to the credit of all banks.

Of the vast amount accumulated with the National Banks in these six cities, approximately 530 million dollars was, at the time referred to, locked in their vaults; about 300 million dollars had been invested in securities (exclusive of Government bonds held for circulation); and over 400 million dollars was being loaned to borrowers who kept no accounts with the lending banks, on Stock Exchange loans, "bought paper," etc.

COULDN'T GET THEIR OWN MONEY.

A very serious feature of the situation was that, when crises came and the country banks had urgent need of their reserves and would call on their correspondents to remit, they found that sometimes they could not get their money and would be told that there was a "currency famine," that the banks were issuing Clearing House Certificates and could not ship the cash demanded by their country correspondent banks; the reason for this was that the money of the country banks, which was deposited with the Central Reserve city banks, was being loaned largely by those banks in Wall Street on stocks for speculative purposes; and if these loans should be called, the banks feared a smash in prices on the New York Stock Exchange.

When it happened to suit the purposes of the big interests in Wall Street to call bank loans, produce a smash in prices and a panic, they have not hesitated to do so. **THE COUNTRY WAS FOR YEARS AT THE MERCY OF A FEW UNSCRUPULOUS MEN WHO POSSESSED THIS DANGEROUS POWER. THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT DESTROYED IT.**

The investigations of the Pujo Committee of Congress showed that the financial control of the United States, including the fate and hopes of every man, woman and child of the hundred millions of us, was centered in men numbering between 100 and 200 living in four or five cities.

LEGALIZED PLUNDER.

* * * In this way the money of the depositors in the smaller cities and towns was taken away by law from its proper use that it might fatten big banks and increase the power of the bankers in the big cities, and often promote schemes of reckless speculation.

It was a natural consequence that the few men controlling the use of this money, in addition to their own resources, saw and used boundless and widening opportunities for increase of their own power, for self-enrichment, the destruction of competition, and the regulation, in their own interest, of the commerce of the continent.

The law had placed under their control, and they used for their own uses, the money of other people, poured in from thousands of scattered sources, and from hundreds of thousands of hands.

By methods of interlocking directorates of great corporations, of close communion of interests, of dovetailing and mutual support, they mastered a nation from ambush and held all the authority of despotism without responsibility of any kind to anybody.

This was the Republican system and theory of finance, banking and currency. It brought unnatural and intensely dangerous situations. It gave us abundant money in a few great centers, easily available for stock speculation, lending on call at 2 or 3 per cent. interest, while the business men, farmers and producers throughout the country, who were trying to build and create real values and do substantial work for the country, were unable to obtain money for their legitimate enterprises—or got it as a grudging dole at rates sometimes three to ten times what the speculators were paying. The record proves this.

WRONGS WIPED OUT.

THE DEMOCRATIC THEORY AND SYSTEM, NOW EXPRESSED IN LAW, WIPE OUT THESE WRONGS AND DANGERS. THEY GIVE US UNCLE SAM'S DOLLAR, GOOD FOR ITS FACE VALUE IN GOLD ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD, AND NOW ACCEPTED AS THE WORLD'S SAFEST CURRENCY AND STANDARD. They supply ample credit resources and currency to meet the proper needs of business, flowing out

freely to help the moving of the crops, to aid reasonable enterprise and to promote healthful industry; contracting, by the automatic process or wisely constructed machinery, as the need diminishes. They make impossible the panics that have stricken us periodically and brought ruin and destruction from ocean to ocean. They have, furthermore, banished the dread of panics which, under the long period of Republican mal-administration and control of our finances, was the nightmare of every business man and working man and farmer, and obstructed proper enterprise and development.

HIDDEN MEN ROBBED OF POWER.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR A FEW HIDDEN MEN TO DECIDE WHETHER THERE SHALL BE "TIGHT MONEY" OR "EASY MONEY." IT GIVES THE PEOPLE AND THE BUSINESS WORLD A FEELING OF SECURITY SUCH AS NEVER HAS BEEN KNOWN BEFORE.

Under the Republican plan, solvent banks, in desperate need of their reserve money to meet demands in a crisis, have been sometimes forced to close their doors and suffer heavy losses because their correspondent banks in the big cities have refused to repay to them their own money. That cannot happen now.

The new system is simple and works easily. It was created as soon as an Administration and Congress, sincerely diligent in the service of all the people and really possessing the courage to defy the few but strong forces that had battered and waxed fat by the old laws, was put in power.

The Republicans in forty years were too feeble of purpose or intellect to give us a currency with the necessary quality of elasticity, flowing and ebbing, enlarging and contracting according to the variations of the people's requirement. They seemed to prefer and admire a currency which could be turned on or off by a stopcock controlled by an invisible hand.

NOW WE HAVE A CURRENCY SUPPLY CONTROLLED BY NOTHING AND NOBODY BUT THE DEMANDS OF THE COUNTRY'S COMMERCE AND THE SAFEGUARDS OF SCIENTIFIC REGULATION.

The Reserves in each of the Twelve Federal Reserve Districts, into which the country has been divided by the new law, are managed and directed by the substantial people of the region or district itself, under the supervision of the Federal Reserve Board. This gives the country local financial self-government. Neither the business men nor the bankers nor the farmers need longer to importune the centers. Instead of a restricted issue of bond-secured currency, we have now a currency and sufficient credits to meet every need of legitimate business.

SOUND CREDIT NOW SAFE.

The local member bank is sure always that it can at any time, if need be, exchange the eligible notes of its customers, which it holds, for money to be used in helping local interests or to meet any emergency or demand from depositors. All the member bank has to do is to present its eligible paper

to the Federal Reserve Bank of its own district, and the money is immediately forthcoming.

EVERY CITIZEN, EMPLOYEE OR EMPLOYER MUST, EVERY TIME HE THINKS OF IT, ENJOY THE FEELING THAT NO PERIL OF PANICS OR BANK CRASHES, OR GENERAL FINANCIAL DISASTER, HANGS OVER HIM TO CLOUD HIS SMALL OR LARGE INTERESTS, OR TO DISTURB HIS HOPES AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE.

Every citizen must feel larger and stronger with the consciousness that the finances and the commerce of his country, and his own interests therein, are not at the mercy of persons far away and over whom he has no control, but are now controlled by the operation of natural and just laws and administered by those near him and known to him and responsible to him, dependent on his approval and heeding his protests and questions.

FINANCIAL EMANCIPATION.

The more closely the average citizen studies the Federal Reserve Act, the more carefully he studies conditions and contrasts them with those of a few years ago, the more clearly he will understand the faithful zeal for his welfare and advancement that has guided the action of this Democratic Administration; the more vividly he will realize the disregard of his interests and the subserviency to the money power that have marked the whole course of the Republican Party; and the more plainly he will know which of the two parties is the friend and helper of the average man and to whom his vote should be given.

THIS GREAT MEASURE HAS EMANCIPATED THE COMMERCE OF THE COUNTRY AS COMPLETELY AS LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION ESTABLISHED THE FREEDOM OF EVERY BORN AMERICAN. IT IS NOW FOR THE PEOPLE TO CONSIDER WHETHER THEY MAY SAFELY PERMIT THE MACHINERY OF THIS GREAT LAW OF FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE TO BE ENTRUSTED TO THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO SO CONSISTENTLY HAVE MAINTAINED FINANCIAL DEPENDENCE FOR THE MANY AND CONTROL BY THE SELFISH FEW.

WAUSAU (Wis.) RECORD HERALD (Rep.):

"Whatever criticism is properly due the President, it cannot truthfully be said that he has tried, or is trying, to get the country into war. On the contrary, he has 'omitted no word or act' to keep the country out of war."

OSHKOSH (Wis.) NORTHWESTERN (Prog. Rep.):

"THE UNITED STATES SENATE HAS REPUDIATED THE MEDDLERS AND WOBLERS WHO SOUGHT TO TIE THE HANDS OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN ITS EFFORT TO PROTECT AND PRESERVE AN AMERICAN RIGHT FULLY GUARANTEED BY INTERNATIONAL LAW, AND HAS THEREBY CONFIRMED THE RULE 'AMERICA FIRST.'"

FARM LOAN LAW MEETS RURAL CREDIT NEEDS

New Wilson Achievement Enables Farmers to Borrow for Long Terms at Low Rates—Effects Reform Long Ignored by Republicans

THE constructive genius and unfaltering public spirit of the Wilson Administration has faced and solved the problem of rural credits.

A fitting complement to the Federal Reserve Act has been enacted in the Hollis-Moss Bill, now known as the Federal Farm Loan Act, approved by President Wilson July 17, 1916. The long-term needs of the American farmer are for the first time provided for. Another great link has been forged in the chain of progressive enactments which constitute the "New Freedom." Adequate capital at fair and much reduced interest-rates is assured for the further development of the marvellous agricultural resources of the United States. There is an interesting and important story here.

The farmer and the home-seeker were completely ignored in the National Banking Act of 1863 and 1864—a measure designed for the special benefit of commercial interests—in which the constructive capacity of the Republican party on financial questions begins and ends. National banks in this now obsolete statute were expressly forbidden to loan on land mortgage, the best security in the world.

THROUGH ALL THE YEARS SINCE 1864 THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WAS DEAF AND BLIND TO THE FARMER'S NEEDS. OF MORE RECENT YEARS, FROM 1896 UNTIL 1910, REPUBLICAN CONGRESSES TOOK NO STEP TO AID FARM FINANCE. SIXTEEN YEARS OF FULL CONTROL WERE ALLOWED TO ELAPSE WITHOUT SO MUCH AS A BEGINNING. THIS IN THE FACE OF THE FACT THAT SUCCESSFUL SYSTEMS OF RURAL CREDITS WERE IN OPERATION THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT MADE A GOOD BEGINNING.

In 1913, in the first ten months of the Wilson administration, a banking and currency act was worked out and passed by the Democrats which has become the admiration of the financial world. The Federal Reserve Act, approved by President Wilson December 23, 1913, brought safety and prosperity to the commercial interests, and made credit available to the farmer.

For the first time in our history of national finance, the peculiar needs of the farmer were recognized and met. Notes given for agricultural purposes or based on live stock were declared eligible for rediscount at Federal Reserve banks.

UNDER THE NEW FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT

TWELVE Federal Land Banks are created in the continental United States with \$750,000 capital each.

LOANS to farmers for productive purposes only will be made by the twelve banks through national farm loan associations.

MEMBERS of the farm loan associations must be borrowers and must take stock in the associations to the amount of 5 per cent. of their loans.

STOCK subscriptions are a dividend-paying investment and the 5 per cent. stock subscription is deducted from the proceeds of the loan.

BASED on its farm mortgages, each land bank may issue farm-loan bonds to bear not to exceed 5 per cent. interest.

PROCEEDS of the bonds furnish funds for further loans to borrowing farmers.

EARNINGS of the system go in full to the borrowers.

INTEREST rates to the farmers, it is expected, will be five per cent. or lower.

A PLAN of amortization of loans is provided under which farmers may pay off the principal on terms that reduce the annual interest rate to not more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

PROVISION also is made for private joint-stock banks under Government supervision which may lend to farmers without requiring any investment in the stock of the bank.

INTEREST RATES NOW PAID ON LONG-
TIME FARM LOANS AVERAGE ABOUT
8 PER CENT. THE NET SAVING TO
FARMERS OF INTEREST AND PRIN-
CIPAL IS EXPECTED TO BE OVER
\$150,000,000 A YEAR.

America has been made up out of the nations of the world and is the friend of the nations of the world.—Woodrow Wilson.

Farm paper as an investment for banks was thereby placed on an equal footing with commercial paper, instead of going begging in the markets. Anything which can be taken to a Federal Reserve bank as the basis for a supply of currency is a quick asset of the first water.

In this way hundreds of millions have become available to the farmer for short-term loans, and the farmer has not been slow to avail himself of this privilege, as the records of our national banks amply attest.

But this was not all. National banks were permitted by the Federal Reserve Act to loan to the farmer on the security of his farm. They were not compelled to make such loans, however, and they are to be commended for the caution they have exercised. A commercial bank ought not to tie up any substantial amount of its funds in long-term loans, for it is likely to be required to pay its deposits on very short notice.

SUPPLEMENTARY LAW TO GIVE LONG-TERM LOANS.

The long-term needs of the farmer could not, however, be denied. The successful farmer becomes more of a business man each year. He must use more machinery, buy more fertilizer, and sow better seed. He must erect better buildings, raise better stock, and grow better crops. He must store his produce in order to sell in a high market. He must pay cash in order to buy cheap. If he wishes to keep his children on the farm, he must make his home attractive. All of this costs money. He must have ready cash, and he must have the use of cash for long periods. He must find easy access to money which is seeking long-term investment.

Of money seeking long-term investment at low rates there is an abundant supply. It includes the ordinary savings of the school-teacher, clerk, minister, and wage earner; the proceeds of life insurance in the hands of widows and other beneficiaries; funds belonging to estates, minors, and wards in chancery in the hands of executors, guardians, and trustees; funds of insurance companies, benevolent orders, and societies of various kinds; endowments of colleges, hospitals, museums, and other institutions; and assets to be invested by receivers, courts, and governments. The aggregate of these is enormous. They require an investment that is absolutely safe and reasonably liquid in the sense that it may be converted into cash upon moderate notice; in other words, that it may find a ready market. A safe investment of this character need not carry a high rate of interest.

BRIDGE THAT UNITES FARMER WITH INVESTOR

Here we discover the funds that should be made available to the farmer on long-term mortgage. We may picture the owners of this vast wealth grouped on one side of a river, the farmers desiring loans grouped on the other side. It is evident that each has what the other wants. We are asked to furnish the bridge which shall bring them in touch, or rather to grant a franchise to those who will build the bridge if we will construct the approaches. Such we conceive to be a proper function of the Government.

WIDE-REACHING BENEFITS OF THE RURAL CREDITS BILL

*(From President Wilson's Remarks on Signing the
Rural Credits Bill.)*

THE FARMERS, IT SEEMS TO ME, HAVE OCCUPIED HITHERTO A SINGULAR POSITION OF DISADVANTAGE. THEY HAVE NOT HAD THE SAME FREEDOM TO GET CREDIT ON THEIR REAL ASSETS THAT OTHERS HAVE HAD WHO WERE IN MANUFACTURING AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES, AND WHILE THEY SUSTAINED OUR LIFE, THEY DID NOT IN THE SAME DEGREE WITH SOME OTHERS SHARE IN THE BENEFITS OF THAT LIFE. THEREFORE, THIS BILL, ALONG WITH THE VERY LIBERAL PROVISIONS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT, PUTS THEM UPON AN EQUALITY WITH ALL OTHERS WHO HAVE GENUINE ASSETS AND MAKES THE GREAT CREDIT OF THE COUNTRY AVAILABLE TO THEM. ONE CANNOT BUT FEEL THAT THIS IS DELAYED JUSTICE TO THEM, AND CANNOT BUT FEEL THAT IT IS A VERY GRATIFYING THING TO PLAY ANY PART IN DOING THIS ACT OF JUSTICE. I LOOK FORWARD TO THE BENEFITS OF THIS BILL, NOT WITH EXTRAVAGANT EXPECTATIONS, BUT WITH CONFIDENT EXPECTATIONS THAT IT WILL BE OF VERY WIDE-REACHING BENEFIT; AND, INCIDENTALLY, IT WILL BE OF ADVANTAGE TO THE INVESTING COMMUNITY, FOR I CAN IMAGINE NO MORE SATISFACTORY AND SOLID INVESTMENTS THAN THIS SYSTEM WILL AFFORD THOSE WHO HAVE MONEY TO USE.

It is evident that the school-teacher in Vermont with \$500 to invest cannot be sure that the Kansas farm mortgage offered her is a sound investment. The title of the mortgagor may be defective; the farmer may be improvident; the land may not be productive. She has no way to ascertain these primary facts. But if she is able to buy a long-term bond, with semi-annual coupons sure to be promptly paid, secured in common with thousands of like bonds on millions of dollars' worth of farm land, guaranteed by twelve banks with an aggregate capital of not less than nine millions, with selected borrowers of known character, with titles examined and all details attended to by trained men, and with Government ex-

amination and supervision, she may invest with confidence on a moderate-income basis.

Such was the need and such was the imperative necessity of Government action which the Republicans completely ignored. Under the new Democratic law, the creation of a Federal farm loan board under Government control is established, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury and four members appointed by the President.

PROVISIONS OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC LAW.

Twelve Federal land banks are established in the continental United States with \$750,000 capital each, to do the actual banking business. These banks make loans to farmers for productive purposes only, through national farm-loan associations.

Members of farm-loan associations must be borrowers, and they must take stock in the associations to the amount of 5 per cent. of their loans. This subscription is an investment in dividend-paying stock, and the 5 per cent. may be deducted from the proceeds of the loan. This 5 per cent. becomes the guaranty fund of the system, and is passed along to the land bank to increase its capital stock. Individual liability to the amount of each member's stock is also incurred by borrowers so as to secure their financial interest in the conduct of the association and in preventing bad loans.

Each land bank may issue farm-loan bonds, based on its farm mortgages as collateral. The proceeds of these bonds furnish funds for further loans to borrowing farmers. These bonds cannot bear interest to exceed 5 per cent., and interest to farmers cannot exceed 1 per cent. more than the rate carried by the last issue of bonds. The 1 per cent. margin pays all expenses and dividends. All earnings go to the borrowers, and when a loan is paid in full the stock issued when the loan was made is fully paid off in cash.

It is expected that loans will be made to farmers at 5 per cent. or lower. The bonds will be an excellent investment at 4 per cent., being tax exempt and a legal purchase for fiduciary funds.

Provision is also made for private joint-stock banks under Government supervision, which may lend to farmers without requiring any investment in the stock of the bank, or any assumption of individual liability. These banks will occupy the same position in the mortgage field that national banking associations occupy in the commercial field. The twelve Federal land banks will be co-operative and will correspond to the familiar building and loan associations in cities.

LAW INCENTIVE TO SAVE.

NOT ONLY IS THE FARMER ENABLED TO BORROW MONEY FOR PRODUCTIVE PURPOSES AT LOW RATES OF INTEREST, BUT HE IS ENCOURAGED TO SAVE, AND PAY OFF HIS LOAN ON THE AMORTIZATION PLAN. WITH EACH PAYMENT OF INTEREST HE IS REQUIRED TO PAY A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF THE PRINCIPAL.

Assume that the loan is \$2,000 and the interest rate is 5 per cent. per annum, payable semi-annually. The borrower will pay \$50 interest every six months. If he pays \$10 additional ($\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent. of \$2,000) with each payment, his debt will be extinguished and the mortgage discharged in 36 years. In a fat year he may pay as much as he chooses; in a lean year he can easily comply with his contract. If he pays a larger percentage of the principal with any installment, the liquidation of the debt will be correspondingly quicker.

The mortgage may run for a term of from five to forty years at the option of the borrower. No person may borrow more than \$10,000 from the land bank, nor more than 50 per cent. of the appraised value of the land, plus 20 per cent. of the value of the buildings.

WE HAVE THUS ENSURED FOR THE FARMER LONG-TERM LOANS, AT LOW RATES OF INTEREST, AND IN THE MOST FAVORABLE TERMS OF REPAYMENT. PRODUCTIVE FARMING IS STIMULATED AND THRIFT IS ENCOURAGED.

SIMPLE, ECONOMICAL, EASY TO ADMINISTER.

We have already seen that the Farm Loan Act provides a long-term investment bond, issued under Government supervision, absolutely safe, and with an attractive income. A study of the Act reveals the following further advantages:

1. Low cost of administration.
2. Simplicity of organization and operation.
3. Adaptability to every part of the country.
4. Stimulation to the co-operative spirit.

REACTIONARIES SOLE OPPONENTS OF LAW.

The Republican platform of 1916 criticises the Democratic Rural Credits bill as "ineffective." WE ANSWER THIS BY SHOWING THAT WHEN THE ACT PASSED THE SENATE, MAY 4, 1916, THE VOTE WAS 57 YEAS TO 5 NAYS. ONLY FIVE REPUBLICAN SENATORS, BRANDEGEE OF CONNECTICUT, LODGE OF MASSACHUSETTS, OLIVER OF PENNSYLVANIA, PAGE OF VERMONT AND WADSWORTH OF NEW YORK, VOTED AGAINST IT. IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT THESE SENATORS ARE ALL IN THE SHADOW OF WALL STREET, MENTALLY AS WELL AS GEOGRAPHICALLY. THREE OF THEM WERE ON THE SUB-COMMITTEE WHO WROTE THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1916. THEY JUSTIFIED THEMSELVES AT THE EXPENSE OF 14 OF THEIR REPUBLICAN COLLEAGUES WHO VOTED FOR THE BILL.*

IN THE HOUSE, MAY 15, 1916, 295 VOTED FOR THE ACT, AND ONLY 10 AGAINST IT. THESE TEN ARE OF THE SAME STRIPE AS THE SENATORS WHO VOTED AGAINST IT, ALL BUT TWO FROM NEW YORK OR ADJOINING STATES. THE TWO ARE FROM RHODE ISLAND AND ILLINOIS.

* See Analyzed Votes upon important measures.

On the adoption of the conference report, which passed the Hollis-Moss bill in its final form, the vote of the Senate was unanimous, while the vote of the House was 311 yeas to 12 nays.

The Hollis-Moss bill is now being subjected to the same hysterical criticism that was levied at the Federal Reserve Act. It has been denounced by the American Bankers' Association because it gives Government aid to the farmers. It has been criticised by the farmers because it does not give Government aid. To those farmers who have been led to expect a measure that would loan to them public money at 3 or 4 per cent. upon an appraisal by the local postmaster, the bill will prove disappointing. Those bankers who believe that the Government should keep out of the land mortgage field and leave such legislation to the States, are naturally displeased. BUT THOSE WHO REGARD THE PLEDGES FOR RURAL CREDITS LEGISLATION, CONTAINED IN THE 1912 PLATFORMS OF THE THREE GREAT PARTIES, WILL FIND IN THE PENDING MEASURE A SIMPLE, EFFICIENT, AND CONSTITUTIONAL PLAN TO AFFORD TO THE FARMER THE SAME FACILITIES FOR MORTGAGE CREDIT THAT ARE NOW AFFORDED TO THE MERCHANT AND MANUFACTURER THROUGH THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM.

After the Federal Farm Loan Act has enjoyed a fair trial, we shall doubtless find its most vehement critics claiming credit for its authorship. Such has been our experience with the Federal Reserve Act since its value has been demonstrated.

PROGRESSIVE APPOINTMENTS.

The Federal Farm Loan Board, which is to handle the new Rural Credits system, has been made up by President Wilson of exceptionally strong and efficient men, thoroughly qualified for the particular responsibilities to which they are called in the agricultural and financial service of the country.

Judge Charles E. Lobdell of Kansas, Republican, has served as legislator and judge of the Kansas bench during nearly 20 years of his public career. He has had financial experience as president of a national bank, two State banks, and a building and loan association. In 1914 he was president of the Kansas Bar Association, and in 1915 president of the Kansas Bankers' Association; and, having spent his life in an agricultural community, he has had extensive experience in loans on farm lands.

George W. Norris, a Philadelphia Democrat, is Director and Deputy Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia. He is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, a member of the bar, and had charge of the bond and investment business of the banking firm of Edward B. Smith & Co. up to 1911, when Mayor Blankenburg appointed him director of the Municipal Department of Wharves, Docks and Ferries. He is a student of economic problems and an expert on investments and securities.

Captain W. S. A. Smith of Iowa, Republican, is a farm

expert, and during the past year or more has served the U. S. Department of Agriculture as expert in farm practice. He is an authority on farm loans, and for years has been a student of rural credits. He is a practical farmer, and well known to the farmers of the country as a writer on farm finance and management. He also has had active financial experience as director of the Stock Yards National Bank of Sioux City, Iowa, and served on the loan committee of this institution, which transacts millions of dollars of business annually with farmers.

Herbert Quick, for years editor of *Farm and Fireside*, a Democrat, is of national repute as a writer on farm problems. He also is an experienced lawyer of nearly 20 years' practice, and has had extensive business experience. As an authority on rural credits he has a national reputation.

Three of the above appointees of President Wilson have been brought up on the farm, owned and operated farms, or been identified with agriculture most of their lives. Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo is ex-officio Chairman of the Board.

YEARLY SAVING TO FARMERS

If applied to the present mortgage indebtedness of farmers, the Rural Credit Act will reduce the present average interest rate on farm loans from 7.5 per cent. to 5 per cent., or less, while at the same time wiping out the principal of the present farm mortgage debt of the United States in from 15 to 40 years.

Below is given the statement of the farm debt of the United States, as compiled by the Department of Agriculture, and the present rate and amount of interest by States, together with a comparative statement of the amount of interest which the present farm debt of the several States would bear at 5 per cent. and the amount of interest-saving by States.

This table indicates an interest-saving under the Rural

"Naturally an act providing for such an important financial system is rather complicated and it will probably be some time before its powers and limitations are clearly defined and the system placed on a practical basis of operation. * * * It is expected by the framers of the measure that all of the stock in the federal land banks will be owned by these associations eventually. This is the feature that will make for real results if it is properly developed. * * * This is the principle that underlies all of the great credit systems of European farmers, and it only remains to be seen how well American farmers can apply themselves to such a plan to make it work as well here as it has abroad. * * * The law is enacted and at least furnishes a good start for a system of credits which farmers in many sections of the United States have been wanting for a long time."—Ohio Farmer, July 29, 1916.

Credits Act of \$66,600,000 to the farmers of the United States on the present outstanding farm mortgage debt.

STATE	Estimated Total Farm Mortgage Debt	Average Rate for Interest Plus Com- mission	Total Amount Paid for Interest and Commission	Interest on Estimated Farm Mort- gage Debt at 5%	Difference Between Amount Now Paid and Interest at 5%
United States..	\$3,598,985,000	%	\$246,558,961	\$179,949,250	\$66,609,711
Alabama.....	25,943,000	9.4	2,438,642	1,297,150	1,141,492
Arizona.....	4,161,000	9.4	391,134	208,050	183,084
Arkansas.....	21,033,000	9.6	2,018,208	1,051,150	967,058
California.....	124,752,000	7.6	9,481,152	6,237,600	3,243,552
Colorado.....	36,767,000	8.9	3,272,263	1,838,350	1,433,913
Connecticut....	17,013,000	5.7	969,741	850,650	119,091
Delaware....	6,857,000	5.6	333,992	342,850	41,142
Florida.....	4,490,000	9.6	431,040	224,500	206,540
Georgia.....	29,711,000	8.7	2,584,857	1,485,550	1,099,307
Idaho.....	21,566,000	8.9	1,919,374	1,078,300	841,074
Illinois.....	355,802,000	6.0	21,348,120	17,790,100	3,558,020
Indiana.....	132,325,000	6.2	8,204,150	6,616,250	1,587,900
Iowa.....	469,063,000	5.9	27,674,717	23,453,150	4,221,567
Kansas.....	180,706,000	6.9	12,468,714	9,035,300	3,433,414
Kentucky.....	41,305,000	7.1	2,932,655	2,065,250	867,405
Louisiana.....	21,141,000	8.6	1,818,126	1,057,050	761,076
Maine.....	13,727,000	6.2	851,074	686,350	164,724
Maryland.....	32,393,000	6.1	1,975,973	1,619,650	356,323
Massachusetts..	24,077,000	5.6	1,348,312	1,203,850	144,462
Michigan.....	118,950,000	6.6	7,850,709	5,947,500	1,903,200
Minnesota.....	145,181,000	6.8	9,872,308	7,259,050	2,613,258
Mississippi....	34,419,000	8.5	2,925,615	1,720,950	1,204,665
Missouri.....	223,107,000	6.8	15,171,276	11,155,350	4,015,926
Montana.....	17,111,000	10.0	1,711,100	855,550	855,550
Nebraska.....	165,015,000	7.1	11,716,065	8,250,750	3,465,315
Nevada.....	3,129,000	9.7	303,513	156,450	147,063
New Hampshire..	6,100,000	5.3	323,300	305,000	18,300
New Jersey....	35,610,000	5.8	2,065,380	1,780,500	284,880
New Mexico....	4,585,000	10.5	481,425	229,250	252,175
New York.....	168,234,000	5.6	9,421,104	8,411,700	1,009,404
North Carolina..	21,005,000	7.7	1,617,385	1,050,250	567,135
North Dakota..	100,364,000	8.7	8,731,668	5,018,200	3,713,468
Ohio.....	130,678,000	6.1	7,971,358	6,533,900	1,437,458
Oklahoma.....	73,129,000	8.4	6,142,836	3,656,450	2,486,386
Oregon.....	35,535,000	8.0	2,842,800	1,776,750	1,066,050
Pennsylvania..	109,312,000	5.8	6,340,096	5,465,600	874,496
Rhode Island..	2,514,000	5.9	148,326	125,700	22,626
South Carolina..	24,967,000	8.4	2,097,228	1,248,350	848,878
South Dakota..	92,467,000	8.0	7,397,360	4,623,350	2,774,010
Tennessee.....	25,468,000	7.9	2,011,972	1,273,400	738,572
Texas.....	184,321,000	9.0	16,588,890	9,216,050	7,372,840
Utah.....	6,818,000	9.0	613,620	340,900	272,720
Vermont.....	17,113,000	5.6	958,328	855,650	102,678
Virginia.....	25,007,000	6.8	1,700,476	1,250,350	450,126
Washington....	43,470,000	8.7	3,781,890	2,173,500	1,608,390
West Virginia..	8,725,000	6.4	558,400	436,250	122,150
Wisconsin.....	206,681,000	5.8	11,987,498	10,334,050	1,653,448
Wyoming.....	7,148,000	10.0	714,800	357,400	357,400

INTEREST ONLY PART OF SAVING.

This statement, however, only faintly shows the possibilities of the new law to American farmers. Besides reducing the present interest rate, the new amortization provides for wiping out the principal of the debt. It will be possible therefore eventually to eliminate the entire present farm debt of \$3,598,985,000, besides reducing the interest by \$66,600,000. On the basis of 40-year amortization payments, the principal would be reduced at the rate of about \$90,000,000 yearly. The farmer is also given the opportunity to make new

loans to extend his agricultural operations at as low a rate as merchants and manufacturers of the best credit standing. The loans, too, are on long time, 15 to 40 years, so that a bad crop or two cannot take his farm.

HOW LOANS WILL BE MADE

(From Address of Representative Ralph W. Moss, of Indiana, one of the authors of the Farm Loan Act, in the House of Representatives, July 5, 1916).

Every borrower when he makes an application for his loan agrees to subscribe to the stock of the local association to the amount of 5 per cent. of his loan. The local association when it forwards its member's application for the loan to the land bank also agrees to subscribe a like amount to the stock of the land bank. When the loan is granted the land bank retains out of the face of the loan the amount of the stock subscription. Thus, if Mr. Jones makes an application for a loan of \$1,000, the transaction which results is as follows: Mr. Jones executes his mortgage for \$1,000 and the local association forwards it to the land bank; the land bank issues to the local association \$50 in par value of stock in the land bank and transmits \$950 in current funds. The local association likewise issues to Mr. Jones \$50 of stock in the association and turns over to him the \$950 received from the land bank.

The association must pay to Jones dividends on \$50 stock issued to him and in turn receives dividends on \$50 of stock, which it holds in the land bank. The land bank has issued bonds to the amount of \$1,000, which it has sold to the public. It pays interest to its bondholders on this amount and receives interest from Mr. Jones on the face of his mortgage, which is \$1,000. The land bank also has \$50 in cash which it deducted from the face of the loan to pay for the stock issued to the local association when it received Jones' application. This sum of \$50 is invested and its income helps to pay the dividends on the corresponding shares of stock.

When Mr. Jones' debt is paid in full the land bank cancels the stock of \$50 held by the association, paying the association its par value; likewise the association cancels its stock issued to Mr. Jones and pays him the \$50 par value. Mr. Jones is no longer a borrower in the system; he is no longer a stockholder. He does not now help to create any business for the system and he is not entitled to share longer in its dividend distributions. I trust this illustration will make it perfectly plain that this system is purely mutual and co-operative; that it is owned solely by the borrowers, and that every cent of its earnings which are distributed as dividends are paid directly to the borrowers in proportion that their loans bear to the whole volume of loans granted by the land bank. * * *

WILSON PUTS THROUGH CHILD LABOR REFORM

His Personal Intervention Causes Enactment of Important Social Justice Measure, Twice Passed by the Democratic House

ON a very hot summer day the familiar figure of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, appeared in the President's room of the Capitol. His appearance was unheralded and unsuspected.

Some said that the President had come to declare war on Mexico, some that the President wished to hold an important conference with members of the Foreign Relations Committee on matters of diplomatic importance. But in a few moments these rumors died down and the fact stood forth that the President had come to the Capitol to urge in person the passage of the Child Labor bill.

This was the bill neglected by all previous Republican Administrations. It provided, as everyone knows, that the products of the labor of children under sixteen years of age in mines or of children under fourteen in factories not be admitted to interstate commerce. It had been on the Administration's programme since 1913, had passed the House twice, and was at that moment before the Senate. Owing to the presence of the closing days of the session, this bill was in the utmost danger of being lost in the shuffle.

KNEW THE SITUATION.

President Wilson knew these facts and understood this situation. He also knew that the bill had been carefully drawn by expert sociologists to correct a grievous injustice in American industrialism. He understood the forces which were opposing it, and he believed that the most effective aid that he could give at this crisis was to make a simple, direct, personal appeal to the Senate and to the country—to let it be known by the act of traveling from the White House to the Capitol that he was putting all the weight and power of his powerful office behind this measure.

To the President's room came members of the steering committee of the Senate. Things began to happen forthwith. For a few days the opposition held the upper hand, but before the session was concluded the President had won.

The Child Labor Bill passed the Senate on August 8, 1916, by a vote of 52 to 12. THIS VITAL PIECE OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION WHICH HAD BEEN NEGLECTED FOR SESSION AFTER SESSION OF CONGRESS BECAME LAW. PRESIDENT WILSON, MORE THAN ANY OTHER SINGLE INDIVIDUAL, DROVE IT THROUGH CONGRESS.

The Child Labor Bill was urged upon the President in a petition signed by a group of well known social workers during the first month of his Administration. It was at that time placed on the calendar of the Democratic programme, not as a political measure, but as a measure of economic justice and necessity. Representative Edward Keating of Colorado introduced it in the House during the first session of the Administration. It passed the House by an overwhelming vote, but, largely, thanks to the Republican filibuster against the Administration Shipping Bill, there was not time to enact it in the Senate before the final adjournment of the Sixty-third Congress.

Those who profess to see nothing but politics in the President's spectacular visit to Congress last July should remember these facts. They should also remember that the Republican party, in its 1916 platform, for the first time, included the Child Labor Bill, a declaration which followed the action of the Democratic House in twice approving of that measure.

The President's handling of the Child Labor Bill is typical and symbolic of his method of handling legislation. First, he leaves legislation to Congress, which, according to the Constitution, is the legislative body. Failing to secure that which he deems proper, he goes straight to Congress and asks for it, squarely, man to man. When delicate international situations have arisen, the President had gone straight to Congress and has told it and the country what is happening, and what, in his opinion, should be done. Thus, he has dealt with the general problems included in his annual messages and with the special problems that have arisen from time to time. Thus, he dealt on a torrid summer day with one of the most important problems which have been before the American people in connection with social and industrial progress—the Child Labor Bill.

AUTO OR ONE-HORSE SHAY?

(From Speech of Representative Scott Ferris of Oklahoma in the House of Representatives July 21, 1916).

My father and mother used to ride in a one-horse shay that cost \$35. Now, if we of the younger generation do not have an automobile that costs \$2,500 every third year, something is going wrong. The whole scene has changed. The whole style and methods of life have changed. The butcher and the banker all ride in automobiles now days. It is a different scale of living that we are having, and the party does not live now that is able to say that it will be able to reduce us to the plane of a one-horse shay. I predict neither the gentleman from Ohio nor myself will be here when this country returns to the one-horse shay days of old.

BUSINESS ISSUE MET IN BUSINESSLIKE WAY

Permanent Non-Partisan Tariff Commission Fortifies American Prosperity Against War Changes

The Wilson Administration has met a business question in direct businesslike fashion by providing for a Permanent Non-Partisan Tariff Commission with ample power to obtain and report to Congress the facts essential to tariff making. The law creating the Commission has passed the House at this writing and is now scheduled for early passage in Senate.

Thus President Wilson and the Democratic Congress have moved swiftly and efficaciously to prepare and fortify the United States against new conditions that may arise when the European War ends. It is another example of the constructive capacity of Woodrow Wilson and a responsive progressive Congress to deal efficaciously with business problems—to act while the opposition talks.

Since this Government now has in operation an honest, fair, sound and well-balanced system of tariff taxation, to which all business has become adjusted, it would be both unwise and suicidal commercially to start an agitation or propaganda to change or modify materially the existing system—before the manifest results of the European war upon trade, finance and industry the world over shall become known.

TO MEET CHANGING CONDITIONS.

The Tariff Commission is empowered to study and investigate the economic and tariff conditions of a changed and rapidly changing world. It is clothed with authority to investigate every phase of the tariff question including the relations between the United States and foreign countries, preferential provisions, the effect of export bounties, and all the conditions, causes and effects relating to the competition of foreign industries with those of the United States. This action of the Democratic Party under Woodrow Wilson gives the lie direct to those who charge that it is a free trade Party.

Under this legislation tariff legislation is to be taken largely out of politics and based upon facts scientifically developed instead of upon greed corruptly applied as heretofore in the formulation of every high tariff bill enacted by the Republican Party.

The best thought of the Country inclines to the opinion that when hostilities cease and America begins to supply

the wants of stricken Europe, immeasurably multiplied in many lines by the present carnival of death and destruction, we will enter upon a period of production far exceeding the wonderful activities of the present. Be that as it may, the Wilson Administration proposes to take no chances—to assume no risk of being unprepared to meet any industrial situation that may develop.

The country has had its experience with Republican tariff commissions and has paid dearly for it. In 1882 a tariff commission recommended a reduction of twenty per cent. in import duties. A Republican Congress, with its historic subserviency to the special interests, ignored the recommendations entirely and made the tariff rates higher than before. The makeshift tariff board provided by the Republican stand-patters in 1909 for the purpose of quieting popular clamor against their deliberate betrayal of the public interest in enacting the Payne-Aldrich law is still fresh in the public mind. In view of the record it is not surprising that the American people have lost confidence in either the ability or the desire of the Bourbon element of the Republican Party to make a tariff law in the interest of both manufacturer and consumer.

AN END OF LOG ROLLING.

Under the new Democratic law, administered by the Democratic party, slip-shod and log-rolling methods of tariff legislation will disappear. In the future tariffs will be based on facts and not on the prejudiced testimony of the chief beneficiaries. The schedules will no longer be fixed by the agents of special privilege at the dictation of their masters.

With the arrogant and brazen assumption, for which its leaders are noted, the Republican Party is claiming that the Democrats adopted their idea in creating the tariff commission. This is completely answered by the historic truth that although the Republican Party has controlled the machinery of the government eighty per cent. of the time during the past fifty years it never gave the country what the Democratic Party has now enacted into law.

The President is wholly committed to the tariff commission idea; the conviction that the Government ought to have some specially expert instrumentality for accumulating information to guide Congress in dealing with tariff problems.

The scope of the commission's work was summarized by President Wilson in these paragraphs of a letter he wrote to Congressman Kitchin in January, suggesting that the ways and means committee take up the Tariff Commission subject:

"What we would need would be above all things else a board as much as possible free from any strong prepossession in favor of any political policy and capable of looking at the whole economic situation of the country with a dispassionate and disinterested scrutiny. I believe that we could obtain such a board if the proper legislation were enacted and it is quite clear to me what the field of its inquiry and its activities should be. It should, it seems to me, investigate the administrative and fiscal effects of the customs laws now in

force or hereafter enacted; the relations between the rates of duty on raw materials and those on finished or half finished products; the effects of ad valorem and specific duties and of those which are a compound of specific and ad valorem; the arrangement of schedules of duties and the classification of the articles in the several schedules; the provisions of law and the rules and regulations of the Treasury Department regarding entry, appraisement, invoices and collection; and in general the working of the customs tariff laws in economic effect and administrative method.

WILL SECURE THE FACTS.

"It could and should also secure facts which would be very useful to the administrative officers of the Government, to Congress, and to the public at large, through investigations of the revenue derived from customs duties and the articles subject to duty, the cost of collection thereof, and the revenue collected from customs duties at the several ports of entry; and it should be directed to investigate and throw light from every possible angle on the tariff relations between the United States and foreign countries; the rates of duty imposed on American products in foreign countries; the existence and effects of discriminating duties, commercial treaties and preferential provisions; the effects of export bounties and preferential transportation rates; and the effects of any special or discriminating duties that may be levied by the United States. It might in this connection furnish the State Department with very valuable information regarding treaty and tariff relations between the United States and foreign countries.

"It might further be of great assistance to the Congress and to the public and to American industry by investigating the industrial effects of proposed or existing duties on products which compete with products of American industry; the conditions of competition between American and foreign producers, including all the essential facts surrounding the production of commodities at home and abroad; the volume of importation compared with domestic production; the nature and causes of the advantages and disadvantages of American as compared with foreign producers; and the possibility of establishing new industries or of expanding industries already in existence through scientific and practical processes in such a manner as substantially to promote the prosperity of the United States.

(From Speech of Speaker Champ Clark in Congress).

The fairest and justest tax ever levied since men invented the tax system is a graduated income tax with reasonable exemptions. [Applause on the Democratic side.] In the very first speech I ever made in this House on the subject of the tariff I stated that I was in favor of a stiff graduated income tax, and as long as the world spins on its axis and slides down the ecliptic no political party is ever going to the country on a proposition to repeal the income tax.

LEST WE FORGET!

A LEADER THAT WAS.

THE BANNER OF THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL CONVENTION, CHICAGO, 1916, BORE THESE WORDS:

"WE WILL BE ALMIGHTY ASHAMED OF OURSELVES IF WE ALLOW ANYBODY TO HOODWINK US INTO NOMINATING ANY MAN FOR PRESIDENT EXCEPT T. R."

CONSTANCY, THOU JEWEL!

SPEAKING OF PROGRESSIVES GOING BACK INTO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, COLONEL ROOSEVELT SAID IN AUGUST, 1915:

"HOLDING THE CONVICTIONS I DO IT WOULD BE AN IMPOSSIBILITY FOR ME MYSELF TO TAKE THAT STEP."

"PERKINS' GOOD MONEY" —ONLY A YEAR LATER!

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, Progressive National Committeeman from Kansas, in a signed dispatch to the New York World, June 11, 1916, following receipt of the Roosevelt telegram withholding acceptance of the Progressive nomination, told just how and why the Progressive Convention allowed itself to be jilted:

"THE POSITION IN WHICH THE RADICALS FOUND THEMSELVES WAS THIS: MR. PERKINS HAD PAID HIS GOOD MONEY FOR THE PARTY AND IN HIM RESTED THE TITLE OF THE PARTY. IT WAS NATURAL THAT COL. ROOSEVELT SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT TITLE. * * * AND WHEN MR. PERKINS SPOKE IN THE PARTY COUNCILS IT WAS ONLY NATURAL THAT HIS JUDGMENT SHOULD PREVAIL."

American business has altered its point of view and in proportion as it has altered its point of view it has gained in power and momentum.—Woodrow Wilson.

GOLDEN HARVEST REAPED UNDER NEW TARIFF ACT

Underwood Act Roots Out Privilege and Monopoly-Breeding Duties— Opens New Markets to American Enterprise

THE DEMOCRATIC TARIFF LAW HAS—

INCREASED American industrial and business efficiency by stimulating competition.

ENABLED U. S. industry to import raw materials to be manufactured into finished products for export on a huge scale.

ASSISTED in making a new record for U. S. foreign trade, with a huge balance in our favor.

LIFTED from the backs of the poor undue burdens of taxation.

FILLED the workman's dinner pail from Maine to California.

PROVIDED the largest customs revenue obtained from this source by any nation in the world.

HELPED create, sustain and distribute evenly the present unequaled prosperity of the country—

SO, WILL YOU NOW VOTE FOR A RENEWAL
OF TARIFF AGITATION WHICH, AS
STATED BY JACOB H. SCHIFF, NEW YORK
BANKER AND LIFELONG REPUBLICAN, IS
"THE ONLY THING THAT CAN STOP THE
GREAT PROSPERITY WE NOW HAVE."

THE Democratic party, led by Woodrow Wilson, has deemed its pledge to revise the tariff, on a sound basis in the interest of the consumer. The Underwood-Simmons Act is the most equitable tariff measure ever placed upon the statute books of the United States.

It remedies economic evil and injustice of long standing. It meets the Government's need as a revenue measure. And it has furnished definite and invaluable aid to the expansion of American overseas commerce which is now so important a factor in the present prosperity of the country.

Its companion measure fortifying the Government to deal with any contingency growing out of the European War—the Tariff Commission Act—at this writing is about to become law.

In behalf of the masses of the American people and the prosperity of American business, the Underwood-Simmons Act has wiped out the discriminating and extortionate schedules of the iniquitous Payne-Aldrich Law and placed the necessities of life, raw materials and unmanufactured articles on the free list or given them the advantages of the minimum rates of duty, while the maximum assessments have been levied upon the luxuries of life.

TAX BURDEN EQUALIZED.

The burden of taxation has been more nearly equalized, and for the first time in the history of the country, wealth has been called upon to bear a fairer share of the cost of government.

Conceived and enacted free of all dictation by special interests and privileged classes, the law has liberated the people of the United States from the economic bondage in which they had so long been held by the tariff policy of the Republican party—a policy having for its fundamental creed the encouragement of all the elements and evils of monopoly and oppression. To arm favored industries with the power to extort from the consuming American public \$5 to \$50 for every dollar collected as a protective duty at the Custom Houses, has constituted the essence and chief effect of Republican tariffs.

Contrast the achievement of the Democratic party in effectually reducing the tariff according to its platform pledge with the shameful and repudiated record of the Republican party, which, in answer to the general and emphatic demand for a revision of the tariff downward, contemptuously gave the country in 1909 the abortive Payne-Aldrich Act—the rich man's tariff, written by and for selfish interests and privileged classes regardless of the great consuming masses of the United States. That tariff law and economic outrage flagrantly violated a solemn pledge to the nation, and was condemned by every fair-minded citizen, Democrat, Progressive and Republican alike. It was the rock upon which the reactionaries and progressives of the Republican party first split, culminating in the disruption of 1912.

A DEMOCRATIC DARE.

Would the Republican party dare re-enact the Payne-Aldrich Law if given the opportunity?

Eliminating the abuses and injustices of the old high protective system, the Underwood-Simmons Act, by means of the income tax section, has equalized taxation and lifted much of the burden from the shoulders of the poor and middle classes of our people and transferred it to the wealthy classes which have never paid their just share. Throughout its history the Republican party has favored the tariff as

the chief source of government revenue because it afforded a means of "shoving the taxes along" to the ultimate consumer—putting them upon the overburdened backs of labor. The Democratic party has always toiled in the interest of the ultimate consumer—the masses of the people of the United States—and by placing an income tax on wealth has been able to remove the duties from many articles of common necessity and to cause a material reduction of the rates on many articles of general use.

The income tax is constructive legislation that outweighs all the fiscal legislation of the sixteen years of Republican rule. Would the Republican party dare repeal it if given the opportunity?

A STIMULUS TO INDUSTRY.

Coupled with its benefit to the consuming public, the Underwood-Simmons Act has given a stimulus to our industries never before equalled in the history of the country. It has unfettered business and commerce and permitted our industries, great and small, to compete with the world. In normal times it will not only be adequate as a producer of revenue, but it will increase the efficiency of American business, and will enable legitimate enterprise to prosper in the United States without the power to oppress the masses of the people with unreasonable and extortionate prices. While a friend of all legitimate business, the Democratic party will never be willing to confer upon any industry the power to increase the cost of living out of all proportion to the economic conditions of supply and demand.

We are living in an extraordinary period. Much of the wealth of the world is being destroyed. This great waste, together with the very important fact that millions of men have been withdrawn from the fields of production and sent to the fields of death has diminished the supply of the world's goods and has greatly decreased the aggregate productive capacity of the belligerent nations of the earth. In these circumstances a high protective tariff unquestionably would have resulted in a most oppressive increase in the cost of living—a misfortune which has been checked by the reasonable and fair customs duties of the Democratic law.

No industry has been hurt and every industry has been benefited—for the tariff has played a most important part in swelling the unprecedented tide of prosperity that is sweeping every part of the country—the greatest in the history of any nation on the face of the earth. The removal of the prohibitive tariff barriers has enabled many neutral countries formerly dealing with belligerent nations of Europe to find in the United States a ready market for their raw and unmanufactured products which otherwise could not have come to us, and has given to our manufacturers the opportunity of exchanging for them our finished products and opening to them new and profitable markets which were never before accessible to them under the Republican high protective policy. We are importing from South America, Canada, Asia, Africa and other countries needed crude materials, manufacturing them into finished products and selling them

to the Old World or back to the countries from which the raw material was purchased, and building up a foreign consumption of our surplus products which has helped to produce our present prosperity and upon which stable prosperity depends in the future.

The following table shows the imports and exports for the fiscal years 1910 to 1913 under the Payne-Aldrich Act as compared with the same statistics for the fiscal years 1914 to 1916 under the Underwood-Simmons Law:

PAYNE-ALDRICH ACT.

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total Foreign Trade.	Balance of Trade in Favor of the United States.
1910..	\$1,556,947,430	\$1,744,984,720	\$3,301,932,150	\$188,037,290
1911..	1,527,226,105	2,049,320,199	3,576,546,304	522,094,094
1912..	1,653,264,934	2,204,322,409	3,857,587,343	551,057,475
1913..	1,813,008,234	2,465,884,149	4,278,892,383	652,875,915

UNDERWOOD-SIMMONS ACT.

1914..	\$1,893,925,657	\$2,364,579,148	\$4,258,504,805	\$470,653,491
1915..	1,674,169,740	2,768,589,340	4,442,759,080	1,094,419,600
1916.	2,197,984,842	4,333,698,604	6,531,683,446	2,135,713,762

Because of the general depression throughout the world during the fiscal year 1914—the year the Underwood-Simmons Act went into effect—our foreign trade fell off one-half (1-2) of 1 per cent. below 1913, but exceeded the record of all previous years by over \$400,000,000. Despite the unbalanced economic conditions of 1914 due to the European war, the balance of trade in favor of the United States, as represented by the excess of exports over imports during that year, was \$470,653,491 as compared with \$188,037,290 for 1910, the fiscal year under the Payne-Aldrich law.

MARVELOUS GROWTH OF COMMERCE.

The growth of our foreign commerce under the Democratic tariff act since the outbreak of the European war, that is, for the fiscal years 1915 and 1916, has been so extraordinary in magnitude that it has broken all trade records of all countries in the whole history of the world. Our exports for 1915 were \$2,768,589,340, exceeding all previous records by several hundred millions; our exports for 1916 reached the stupendous total of \$4,333,698,604, or \$1,565,000,000 greater than 1915 and almost double the high records of previous years.

The balance of trade in favor of the United States for the fiscal year 1915, was \$1,094,419,600, breaking the record of all previous years; while the favorable balance of trade for the fiscal year 1916 was \$2,135,713,762, or double that of 1915, and almost three and one-half times the highest record of previous years. These figures fairly stagger the imagination!

OUR EXPORTS COULD NEVER HAVE GROWN IN THIS DEGREE IF OUR INDUSTRIES HAD BEEN

HAMPERED BY A HIGH PROTECTIVE TARIFF which would have increased the cost of raw material to prohibitive figures or forced to other markets the raw materials and unmanufactured articles we have imported for the purpose of manufacture into finished products in order to supply the export trade. The increase in our imports during 1916 is represented almost entirely by the increase in the imports of such raw materials and unmanufactured articles required by our own manufacturers. For example, we imported for the fiscal year 1915 crude materials for use in manufacturing to the amount of \$575,143,000; for the fiscal year 1916, these imports were \$944,105,000—an increase of \$369,000,000; for the fiscal year 1915 our imports of manufactures for further use of our own manufacturers amounted to \$237,946,000, while for the fiscal year 1916, they were \$359,442,000, an increase of \$121,500,000. The increase in these two groups of imports alone aggregated \$490,500,000. On the other hand, our total exports during the fiscal year 1916 of domestic manufactured products (exclusive of foodstuffs) ready for consumption exceeded such exports for 1915 by \$1,187,733,090, breaking all previous records of the country's history, viz.:

Exports of Domestic Manufactures (exclusive of foodstuffs)
ready for Consumption—

1915	\$808,634,402
1916	1,996,367,492

Increase in 1 year, 1916 over 1915..... \$1,187,733,090

Compare these figures with our imports of manufactures (exclusive of foodstuffs) ready for consumption which were valued as follows:

		Decrease as Compared With 1913.
Fiscal year 1913.	\$408,179,000	
Fiscal year 1915.....	336,263,000	\$71,916,000
Fiscal year 1916.....	315,884,000	92,295,000
Total decrease		\$164,211,000

It is very difficult to follow the devious Republican mind on the tariff question. Republican leaders and spokesmen, with characteristic partisan inconsistency and purely for the purpose of misleading the country in their frantic efforts to drive the Democratic party from power, contended until a few months ago that the European war had acted as a temporary tariff wall, preventing the flooding of the country with foreign imports; that this accounted for our prosperity and proved the theory of trade exclusion by high tariff protection to be correct. They now ignore that contention, make an "about face" and point to the large increase in the imports for 1916 as a threat to our prosperity and as a fruitful source of tariff taxation to meet the present revenue necessities for preparedness, etc.

As the increase in our imports has been due to increased imports of raw materials and the like for the use of our manufacturers in their export trade, it would simply be taxing, and consequently diminishing, our export trade if we increased the duties on crude materials, and therefore hurtful to our prosperity. The conclusive evidence that the Democratic tariff law has helped the country is the fact, viz.: that while we bought from foreign countries in 1916 (our imports) \$2,197,984,842, we sold to foreign countries in 1916 (our exports) more than twice as much as we bought, viz.: \$4,333,698,604 leaving a trade balance in our favor, for the fiscal year 1916, of \$2,135,713,762. NO WONDER THE UNITED STATES IS NOW THE RICHEST AND MOST PROSPEROUS NATION ON EARTH. DEMOCRATIC POLICIES, DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT TRULY IN THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE, HAVE MADE IT SO.

DUMPING CHARGE A FABRICATION.

The charge, often repeated until recently, that the Democratic tariff has resulted in the dumping of European manufactures upon our markets to the detriment of American business is utterly fallacious and deliberately misleading.

During the first ten months under the present tariff act, or the period from its adoption to the outbreak of the war, that is, during times of peace, our imports increased \$101,977,779, or at the rate of only about \$122,000,000 a year.

The following table shows the relative increase of imports under the Payne-Aldrich and the Underwood-Simmons Acts:

Fiscal Year.	Tariff Law.	Increase of Imports Over Preceding Fiscal Year.
1910	Payne-Aldrich	\$245,000,000
1912	Payne-Aldrich	126,000,000
1913	Payne-Aldrich	160,000,000
1914	Underwood-Simmons, at the rate of	122,000,000

In other words, the above table shows that for the year ended June 30, 1910, nearly 11 months of which were under the Payne-Aldrich law, the first year in which that law was in effect, imports increased \$245,000,000 over the preceding year, or more than double the rate of increase under the first ten months of the Underwood-Simmons Act; for the fiscal year of 1912—the last full Republican year—also under the Payne-Aldrich law, they increased \$126,000,000 over the previous year; for the fiscal year of 1913, likewise under the Payne-Aldrich Act, they increased \$160,000,000, while the rate of increase under the Underwood-Simmons Act for the fiscal year of 1914 was only \$122,000,000.

In spite of the increase of \$101,977,779 in total imports for the ten months ended July 31, 1914, the increase in foodstuffs and crude materials for use in manufacturing was over \$105,000,000, leaving an actual decrease in the value of imports

of all kinds of manufactures (excluding manufactures of foodstuffs) of over \$3,000,000. In other words, instead of the alleged dumping of European-made goods on our markets, these figures show that there was really a decrease in the value of importations of manufactured articles for that period. Not only is this true as to manufactures as a whole, but an analysis of the figures from each of the larger branches of manufactures shows that they were not injured in any degree by the lower duties.

Imports of manufactures of cotton for that period were valued at about \$60,000,000, as against \$53,000,000 for the corresponding period of 1913 under the old tariff. But as our total domestic output of manufactures of cotton annually is at least \$800,000,000, the increase could not have had any effect on our cotton manufactures.

An analysis of the increase in the imports of our principal manufactures for the ten months ended July 31, 1914, under the Underwood-Simmons Act, that is prior to the outbreak of the European war, as compared with the corresponding period of 1913, shows that wherever there was an increase in imports of manufactured products there was a corresponding or greater increase in the imports of raw materials, out of which these goods are made.

DEMAND EXCEEDS SUPPLY.

This clearly indicates that the demand of the United States for these manufactured articles was in excess of the ability of our own manufacturers to supply them. The following table is illuminating in this respect:

IMPORTS.

	10 Months Ended July 31, 1913.	10 Months Ended July 31, 1914.	Increase.
Wool:			
Manufactured goods..	\$13,000,000	\$33,000,000	\$20,000,000
Raw wool	26,000,000	53,000,000	27,000,000
Vegetable Fibres:			
Manufactured goods ..	65,000,000	70,000,000	5,000,000
Raw	42,000,000	49,000,000	7,000,000
Silk:			
Manufactured goods ..	22,000,000	27,000,000	5,000,000
Raw silk	72,000,000	85,000,000	13,000,000
Leather and Tanned Skins:			
Manufactured goods ..	6,800,000	8,700,000	1,900,000
Unmanufactured	7,300,000	13,100,000	5,800,000
Uncured hides and skins	92,000,000	105,000,000	13,000,000

The above are the principal increases in the value of manufactured goods, while there are notable decreases in other kinds of manufactures.

The value of imports of manufactures of iron and steel entered for consumption for the period from October 4, 1913, when the Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act went into effect, to June 30, 1914, shows a slight decrease from the value of the imports during the period October 1, 1912, to June 30, 1913, under the Payne-Aldrich tariff. Steel and iron articles entered free of duty increased from \$447,347 to \$5,933,658 during that period. Of this, however, the greater part consisted of pig iron, the free imports of which increased to the value of \$3,193,333.

The domestic production of pig iron for the calendar year 1913, ending three months after the new tariff law went into effect, and 8 or 10 months after the new duties on iron were practically known, was 30,966,000 tons, valued at over \$458,000,000. This was the record production for any year and for any country. The entire production for the world for that year being about 77,400,000 tons—the greatest production to that date.

MADE GOOD BEFORE THE WAR.

Bar iron decreased; steel ingots, billets, bars, etc., decreased; wire rods decreased and forgings decreased, while the value of imports of tin plates increased from \$915,688 to \$1,225,461. Wire and manufactures of wire increased from \$830,303 to \$1,076,557. Imports of cutlery increased from \$1,380,765 to \$2,532,911. These increases, however, were infinitely small in proportion to the total domestic production of these articles. The domestic production of tin and terne-plate in 1909, for instance, was \$47,969,645. The domestic production of wire and wire work was \$126,210,278. The value of the domestic production of cutlery and tools was \$53,206,163, while the total value of iron and steel products of blast furnaces was \$391,306,675, and of iron and steel products of steel works and rolling mills was \$985,628,297. These relatively infinitesimal increases could have had no adverse effect upon the iron and steel industries.

The above is an analysis of the situation before the outbreak of the European war—the only normal period during which the Simmons-Underwood Act has had an opportunity to operate. There has been a great decrease in our imports of manufactured goods since the war, but the Republican party has been making strenuous efforts to mislead the country by the circulation of false statements of the wildest character to the effect that Europe is prepared to dump two billion dollars worth of manufactured articles upon the United States as soon as peace is declared. The statement is absurd on its face. It is an absolute fabrication. There is absolutely no data upon which to base such statements. That they are utterly ridiculous becomes instantly clear when one considers the prostration of Europe and the fact that a great proportion of her producers and manufacturers have been withdrawn from the fields of commercial production and are forced to devote their entire energies and resources to the production of munitions and other materials to prosecute the war.

During the past two years our manufacturers have enormously increased their efficiency and the output of their plants, and our record breaking exports are going to every corner of the globe, including markets which never before have been available to the United States. This has resulted in a great improvement in organization and in methods of manufacture and in a great increase of trained workmen, which will give the manufacturers of the United States for years to come a paramount advantage over all foreign competitors. In these circumstances there will be no chance for an increase in the importation of manufactured products, because, as clearly shown above, the increase in the imports of manufactured goods in the past under the Simmons-Underwood Act was due to an increased demand for such goods by the people of the United States and the inability of our manufacturers to supply them.

It is not only false, but dishonest, for the Republican party to claim that the revenue needs of the Government could have been provided by a protective tariff. The highest protective tariff ever written would have yielded less revenue to the Government than the Underwood-Simmons Act. The articles which are not coming into this country now certainly would not come in under a higher protective tariff, and many of the articles that had never previously sought the United States, which are being imported now, would be prohibited from entering by protective rates of duty. Revenue cannot be collected from goods that do not enter the country. While receipts from the tariff have necessarily been decreased by the war, the receipts from the income tax section of the Act have been a reliable, constant and increasing source of revenue.

The Underwood-Simmons Act is a most successful revenue measure, and will continue to prove so upon the restoration of normal conditions in the world, as it was clearly demonstrated to be successful in normal times.

THE CUSTOMS PROVISIONS OF THE LAW WILL YIELD, DURING NORMAL TIMES, \$100,000,000 IN EXCESS OF THE CUSTOMS LAWS OF ANY OTHER NATION. IN VIEW OF THAT FACT, WOULD THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TOLERATE AN INCREASE IN THE TARIFF?

The following tables afford a comparison between the amount of revenue receipts yielded to the Government by the Payne-Aldrich Act and that produced by the Underwood-Simmons Law:

Payne-Aldrich Act Fiscal year 1912	Payne-Aldrich Act Fiscal year 1913	Underwood-Simmons Act Fiscal year 1914
Customs...\$311,321,672	Customs...\$318,891,396	Customs...\$292,320,015
Corporation Tax... 28,583,304	Corporation Tax... 35,006,300	Corporation Income Tax 43,127,740
		Individual Income Tax 28,253,535
Total. ....\$339,904,976	\$353,897,696	\$363,701,290

In other words, the receipts for 1912 under the Payne-Aldrich Act—the last full Republican year—were \$23,796,314 less than the collections for 1914, chiefly under the Democratic tariff law, and the receipts for 1913, likewise under the Payne-Aldrich tariff, were \$9,803,594 less than those for 1914, chiefly under the Democratic law.

NO MORE EXTREME TARIFFS.

THE LIFE OF THE MODERNIZED ULTRA HIGH PROTECTIVE TARIFF SYSTEM AS HERETOFORE DEVELOPED IN THIS AND ONE OR TWO OTHER LEADING COUNTRIES HAS REACHED ITS END. Apart from its essential injustice to the people, this system has become a positive menace to the peace of all trade countries. It is naturally utilized for purposes of rank discrimination, practical boycotting, undue preferences, retaliations and other irritating practices. It also involves in its logical development, subsidies, bounties, rebates, and the like. The trade practices growing out of the very spirit and operation of these so-called scientific high protective tariff systems have been a source of constant controversy and irritation among the leading commercial nations. It is a matter of common knowledge that the operation of the many unfair, injurious, and sharp trade practices and the strenuous trade conquests pursued under these systems largely contributed to the outbreak of the present European war.

Viewed from any standpoint, the citizen must be selfish, greedy, and shortsighted who would demand or seriously suggest tariff revision before normal conditions are re-established in the world.

EUROPE HARD HIT.

At the close of the war, Europe, commercially and industrially speaking, will be flat on her back. She will be burdened by a stupendous debt and most seriously handicapped by high prices, high wages, inflated currency, destroyed capital, scarcity of skilled labor, loss of export trade, high taxes, burdensome interest, extreme scarcity of all raw materials, and great depletion of her stock of manufactures, both for export and domestic purposes. The principal countries at war will be paying greater annual interest charges than the total amount of taxes annually levied by the United States Government. With these tremendous handicaps, no intelligent person expects Europe to be able to rehabilitate herself commercially and industrially within any short period of time. Some of her best markets have already been lost to the United States.

An organization without the vital spirit of co-operation is dead and may be dangerous—Woodrow Wilson.

HOW WOODROW WILSON DROVE OUT THE LOBBY

Charles B. Warren, of Michigan, Now on Hughes's Campaign Committee, in Exposure of "Invisible Government"

WHEN President Wilson at the outset of his administration, in the spring of 1913, scattered the lobby which for years had regularly gathered in Washington seeking to prevent legislation in the interest of the people, he performed a great public service which has been of continuing benefit to the country. The lobby was practically a part of the old stand-pat Republican machine.

The leaders of the lobby, lavishly supplied with funds contributed by individuals and corporations made rich by special legislation enacted under the Republican regime, had their corps of experienced secretaries and clerks working night and day in extensive suites of offices, sending to members of the House and Senators and broadcast to the press of the country specially prepared "literature" calculated to arouse public sentiment against the progress of reform legislation outlined by President Wilson in accordance with the pledges of the Democratic platform.

The Underwood tariff bill, which dealt so drastically with the iniquitous schedules of the Payne-Aldrich tariff act, was the special object of the lobby's hostile activity at the moment.

But when the President in a brief but pointed statement called the attention of the country to what was going on, there was a sudden cessation in these activities. The principal lobbyists hurried from Washington like rats deserting a sinking ship, their extensive bureaus of misinformation were closed and Congress was enabled to continue its work of reform legislation relatively free from the importunities of the special interests.

The matter was not allowed to end here, however. Committees of both Senate and House were authorized to make searching investigations into the activities of the lobby.

HUGHES CAMPAIGN AIDE INVOLVED.

An interesting revelation brought out by the lobby investigation was the manner in which the American Sugar Refining Co., the old trust that dominated the cane sugar industry, was connected up with the Beet Sugar Trust with a view to preventing cutting of prices. It was shown that the former trust had acquired heavy holdings of the stock of the Beet Sugar Trust, the Michigan Beet Sugar Co. and other so-called independent beet sugar concerns established in the West. THE MICHIGAN BEET SUGAR CO. HAD

AS ITS PRESIDENT CHARLES B. WARREN, THEN AND NOW A MEMBER OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. THE LOBBY INVESTIGATION MADE IT APPEAR THAT WARREN WAS THE AGENT OF THE OLD SUGAR TRUST IN THE OPERATIONS WHEREBY IT CONTROLLED THE BEET SUGAR INDUSTRY. A DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT HAVING MADE THE OLD SUGAR TRUST'S CONTROL OF THE BEET SUGAR CONCERNS DANGEROUS, WARREN KINDLY BOUGHT FROM THE OLD TRUST LARGE BLOCKS OF ITS BEET SUGAR HOLDINGS. ACCORDING TO WARREN'S OWN TESTIMONY BEFORE THE LOBBY INVESTIGATION, HE BOUGHT OF THESE STOCKS "JUST SUFFICIENTLY TO GET DOWN TO A POINT OF SAFETY FROM PROSECUTION UNDER THE TRUST ACT." THERE WAS GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THESE PURCHASES WERE NOT IN GOOD FAITH AND THAT THERE WAS NO DESIRE TO COMPLY HONESTLY WITH THE ANTI-TRUST LAWS.

THE SAME WARREN.

THIS IS THE SAME WARREN WHO IS NOW A MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE BY DESIGNATION OF THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.

ONE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PARTIES.

If our party were to be called upon to name the particular point of principle in which it differs from its opponents most sharply and in which it feels itself most definitely sustained by experience, we should no doubt say that it was this: That we would have no dealings with monopoly, but reject it altogether; while our opponents were ready to adopt it into the realm of law, and seek merely to regulate it and moderate it in its operation.—President Wilson's Letter to Representative Oscar W. Underwood, October 17, 1914, on Accomplishments of 63rd Congress.

WILSON'S BASIC ARGUMENT

Against Wilson's basic argument that, even in the most ferocious war, the voice of humanity and of international law must be heard, nobody even lightly affected by the morality of our stage of culture will present objections: the Princeton Professor might base his arguments on Bismarck or Goethe (who, in the presentation of essentials, are not so far removed from each other as heedless or hostile phrasemakers would have them).—Maximilian Harden, famous Berlin editor.

DEMOCRACY REDEEMS PLEDGES TO LABOR

Change of Administration Will Jeopardize Labor's New Bill of Rights, Written Into Statute Law By Democrats

DEMOCRATIC control of Congress and the sympathetic leadership of Woodrow Wilson have made effective epochal achievements which constitute a practically completed programme of economic justice for the laboring classes.

Great laws affecting terms and conditions of employment have been rewritten to accord with the highest dictates of modern conscience and experience. Administrative measures have been adopted which expand the hand-worker's zone of opportunity and tend to improve the conditions under which the laboring man and woman work and live.

Labor's new Bill of Rights is safe—Labor's entire cause is safe—under Woodrow Wilson. BUT SUPPOSE A CHANGE TAKES PLACE TO ANOTHER AND AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT SORT OF FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION, PLACING THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE NEW LAWS AND THE CONDUCT OF LABOR'S NEW ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY IN THE HANDS OF A PARTY WHICH HAS FOUGHT PRACTICALLY EVERY ONE OF THE ADVANCES MADE IN LABOR'S BEHALF! WHAT THEN?

ESSENTIALS OF LABOR RECORD.

Essential chapters in the story of the redemption of Democratic pledges to Labor are—

1. AMENDMENT OF THE ANTI-TRUST LAWS RELATIVE TO ORGANIZATIONS OF LABOR AND FARMERS ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE LABOR OF A HUMAN BEING IS NOT A COMMODITY OR ARTICLE OF COMMERCE AND SHOULD NOT BE LEGALLY PLACED IN THE SAME CATEGORY WITH DUMB OR INANIMATE THINGS.

2. PASSAGE OF THE CHILD LABOR LAW EXCLUDING ARTICLES MADE BY THE LABOR OF CHILDREN FROM INTERSTATE COMMERCE.

3. THE PREVENTION OF THE ABUSE OF THE RIGHT OF INJUNCTION IN LABOR DISPUTES BY OUR FEDERAL COURTS.

4. RESTRICTING PUNISHMENT FOR ALLEGED CONTEMPTS OF COURT AND PROVIDING A TRIAL BY JURY IN ALL CASES OF CONTEMPT WHEN THE ALLEGED ACT HAS NOT OCCURRED WITHIN THE IMMEDIATE PRESENCE OF THE COURT.

5. SPECIFICALLY DEFINING THE THINGS THAT LABOR MAY DO IN FURTHERANCE OF A LABOR DISPUTE.

6. PROHIBITING THE FUNDS APPROPRIATED FOR PROSECUTION OF VIOLATIONS OF THE ANTI-TRUST LAWS FROM BEING USED TO PROSECUTE LABOR AND FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS FOR ACTS COMMITTED IN FURTHERANCE OF THEIR LEGITIMATE FUNCTIONS.

7. THE ENACTMENT OF THE SEAMEN'S LAW GIVING SAILORS THE RIGHT TO CEASE THEIR EMPLOYMENT WHEN THEIR VESSEL IS IN A SAFE PORT IF THE WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS ARE NOT SATISFACTORY TO THEM.

PROMOTES INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

8. THE CREATION OF A PERMANENT MEDIATION BOARD TO USE THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE GOVERNMENT IN PROMOTING ADJUSTMENTS OF LABOR DISPUTES ON RAILROADS ENGAGED IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE, UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF PERMANENT OFFICIALS WHO CAN DEVOTE THEIR ENTIRE TIME TOWARDS THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW.

9. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EIGHT-HOUR LAW FOR WOMAN AND CHILD WORKERS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

10. AN EIGHT-HOUR LAW FOR EMPLOYEES ENGAGED IN OPERATIONS UNDER THE ALASKAN COAL LAND ACT.

11. CONSTRUCTION OF THE ALASKAN RAILROAD BY THE GOVERNMENT INSTEAD OF THROUGH CONTRACTORS.

12. THE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION ACT AND APPROPRIATIONS THEREUNDER, PROVIDING VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR FARMERS AND RESIDENTS IN RURAL COMMUNITIES.

14. MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS ON VESSELS GUARANTEED THE RIGHT TO QUIT WHEN CONDITIONS ARE NOT SATISFACTORY TO THEM.

15. SEVEN NEW SAFETY STATIONS AND TEN NEW EXPERIMENT STATIONS PROVIDED FOR THE BUREAU OF MINES TO ENABLE IT TO EXTEND ITS WORK OF LABOR SAFETY.

16. AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL DISPUTE IN THE COAL-FIELDS OF WEST VIRGINIA BY A COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE WHEREBY PEACE WAS RESTORED, AN EIGHT-HOUR WORK-DAY OBTAINED, CHECK-WEIGHMEN ALLOWED TO REPRESENT THE WORKMEN IN SEEING THAT THEIR COAL IS PROPERLY WEIGHED, AN INCREASE IN WAGES SECURED, THE RIGHT OF ORGANIZATION GUARANTEED AND THE BASIS LAID FOR PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENT OF THE WORKING CONDITIONS OF THE MINERS.

17. FEDERAL BOILER INSPECTION EXTENDED SO AS TO APPLY TO LOCOMOTIVE ENGINES AND TENDERS.

18. A COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES MADE AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CONDITIONS EXISTING IN THE COLORADO COAL-FIELDS AND THE MICHIGAN COPPER REGION DURING THE BIG STRIKES IN THOSE STATES, GIVING TO LABOR AN OPPORTUNITY TO BE HEARD UPON ANY CHARGES, COMPLAINTS OR GRIEVANCES THEY DESIRED TO PRESENT, AND PROVIDING A CHANNEL THROUGH WHICH THE PUBLIC MIGHT BECOME ACQUAINTED WITH THE FACTS.

19. IMPOSITION OF AN INCOME TAX IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE RECENTLY ADOPTED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT PLACING THE BURDEN OF TAXATION UPON THE SHOULDERS OF THOSE BEST ABLE TO BEAR IT.

20. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MINIMUM FINE FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE HOURS OF SERVICE ACT OF 1907, APPLYING TO RAILWAY EMPLOYEES, WHICH HAD BECOME PRACTICALLY INOPERATIVE BECAUSE THE LAW PROVIDED A MAXIMUM BUT NO MINIMUM FINE FOR THOSE WHO WERE CONVICTED OF ITS VIOLATION.

AND THERE IS MORE.

In addition to the measures enumerated above enacted into law by the two Congresses during this Administration, which have been the busiest in history, preparations have been made for further legislation. The Bill to create a Bureau of Labor Safety and the Government Employees' Compensation Bill have passed the House and have been reported to the Senate. (The latter is now law.) The Convict-Labor Bill to enable

States to regulate admission from another State of convict-made goods has been reported favorably by the House Committee on Labor and also by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and is now on the calendar of both Houses. A bill to provide Federal aid for vocational training has been reported favorably by the House Committee on Education and the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. A bill to provide an increase in wages for Federal Inspectors of Locomotives and Railway Equipment is on the House calendar with a favorable report from the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. A bill to create a National Employment Bureau has been favorably acted upon by the House Committee on Labor and is now before the House for its consideration.

SAFETY ON RAILROADS.

A bill for the promotion of the safety of employes and travelers on railroads, providing a greater distance of clearance between cars and obstructions along the right-of-way, has been placed upon the calendar of the House with the endorsement of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

The foundation upon which the successful record of the Wilson Administration in providing protection of wage-workers against injustice and wrong was laid during the Sixty-second Congress. For sixteen years the Republicans had had uninterrupted control of both branches of Congress. The power of the Speaker had become supreme. He selected all of the committees to which legislation was referred and named their chairmen. Desire for good committee appointments and chairmanships on the part of members of the majority created an influence in the hands of the Speaker which enabled him to control the action of the committees and through them the legislation which should be considered. The committees became the graveyards of every piece of legislation which the Speaker had decided to oppose.

DEMOCRATS BROKE BARRIERS.

In the Sixty-second Congress the Democrats had control of the House. THEY BELIEVED THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF ALLOWING ONE MAN TO DOMINATE CONGRESS WAS WRONG, AND THEY AMENDED THE RULES OF THE HOUSE BY TAKING THE POWER TO NAME THE COMMITTEES OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE SPEAKER AND PLACING IT IN THE HANDS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. The effect was immediate. Committees of Congress became free to act in accordance with the judgment of the majority. They took on new life and measures were considered upon their merits instead of by the dictation of one man.

Among other committees that began to function after sixteen years of inactivity was the Committee on Labor. It reported out and secured the consideration and enactment

of a number of measures favorably affecting labor, among which may be mentioned the law providing an eight-hour work-day on work done for the Government as well as on work done by the Government; the creation of the Industrial Relations Commission; the authorization of the Children's Bureau; the establishment of the Department of Labor, and the restoration of the right of hearing, petition, and association to civil service employees.

The same rules have applied to each succeeding Congress and they enabled the Administration to secure the enactment of the progressive legislation above recounted. THERE HAS NEVER BEEN AN ADMINISTRATION SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF THE GOVERNMENT WHERE SO MUCH LEGISLATION HAS BEEN ENACTED DIRECTLY AFFECTING THE WAGE-WORKERS AND IMPROVING THEIR CONDITIONS.

LIBERALS VS. TORIES.

One of the great champions of Labor in Congress has been Representative David J. Lewis of Maryland, now candidate for the U. S. Senate. Explaining why Democracy has been Labor's instrument of progress Mr. Lewis said in a speech in the House, July 10, 1916:—

"I SAY IT IS SOMETHING MORE THAN A COINCIDENCE THAT THESE MEASURES HAVE PASSED A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS AND WERE NOT EVEN CONSIDERED UNDER REPUBLICAN RULE. WHAT IS THE CAUSE? WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE? THE DIFFERENCE, SIR, I SUBMIT IS THIS: THE PARTY OF JOSEPH G. CANNON REPRESENTED ONLY A PART OF THE PEOPLE. THE PARTY OF WILSON AND CLARK REPRESENTS THEM ALL. ONE IS THE TORY WHO THINKS ALL LAW-MADE CHANGES ARE DANGEROUS, AND, AS WENDELL PHILLIPS SAID, IS AFRAID TO BRUSH DOWN THE COBWEBS LEST THE CEILING MAY FALL. THE OTHER IS THE LIBERAL AND PROGRESSIVE, WHO KNOWS THAT AS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS CHANGE SO MUST CHANGE THE RULES OF THE STATE WHICH REGULATE THE RELATIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS."

Of the work and present head of the Department of Labor Mr. Lewis said:—

THE SECRETARY OF LABOR.

"Mr. Speaker, the Department of Labor is a real living and dynamic fact. And why? Its Secretary is a real son of labor. I insert his biography as taken from the Congressional Directory:

William Bauchop Wilson, of Blossburg, Pa., Secretary of Labor, was born at Blantyre, Scotland, April 2, 1862; came to this country with his parents in 1870 and settled at Arnot, Tioga County, Pa. In March, 1871, he began working in the coal mines; in November, 1873, became half member of the mine workers' union; has taken an

active part in trade-union affairs from early manhood; was international secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America from 1900 to 1908, having been elected each year without opposition; is engaged in farming at Blossburg; is married and has nine children; was elected to the Sixtieth, Sixty-first, and Sixty-second Congresses from the fifteenth congressional district of Pennsylvania; chairman Committee on Labor, House of Representatives, Sixty-second Congress. Took the oath of office as Secretary of Labor, March 5, 1913.

"Surely in the case of the Department of Labor there was no 'making the promise to the ear and breaking it to the heart.' A distinguished Member of this House has said that if in argument you should grant the Secretary of Labor any of his premise, defeat was certain to follow, so surely does his Scotch processes of logic plow their way through all obstructions when given a single admission. He is a credit to his race. He is a credit to the labor sentiment of the country, which has trusted and supported him, and a credit to the administration whose arduous responsibilities he so splendidly shares. Surely in William B. Wilson labor has a voice in the great councils of the Nation."

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

In all the Government Departments the eight-hour work-day has been extended to apply to all Government contracts except for the purchase of those things that can be usually bought in the open market. Mechanics and laborers employed in the arsenals and Navy yards of the Government have received substantial increases in wages commensurate with the improved conditions which have been secured by the workers in private employment, and its improvements have been numerous and great.

With a record of this kind to rely upon as a pledge of the sincerity of its purpose, with the American workingman more steadily employed, with better wages and conditions than ever before, with pledges in the platform which give a guarantee of future progressive legislation, surely the Democratic Administration is entitled to a vote of confidence from the wage-workers and farmers of the United States, organized and unorganized.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

The new Workmen's Compensation Law which had passed the House and passed the Senate August 19 applies to over 400,000 persons in the employ of the United States Government. This includes all the civil employees, whereas the former law covered less than one-fourth of them.

It provides for the payment of two-thirds of the wages during the period of incapacity resulting from personal injury, the payments beginning three days after the accident; and medical care is provided. The compensations to dependents of injured are also liberal.

Up to the time of the passage of this law the New York State law was the most liberal, but this surpasses it and is considered the most scientific as well as the most liberal compensation law in the world.

STORY OF UNPARALLELED SERVICE TO AGRICULTURE

Wilson Administration Carries Out Constructive Program for Develop- ment of America's Farm Resources

WHEN Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic party assumed direction of all branches of the Federal Government in March, 1913, they did not have to waste time in securing information concerning rural life problems.

It was not necessary to create commissions to inform them concerning the needs of agriculture. They knew the problems and needs from long and intimate experience and study, and proceeded promptly to mark out a program which has been pursued with singular intelligence and executed with remarkable promptness.

Their program involved a conception of rural life as a whole. Heretofore those in charge of the Government had been able to see only one aspect of it—production. The Democratic program revealed a full appreciation not only of the importance of problems of production and a determination to prosecute energetically work of a scientific and practical character in this field, but also for the first time embraced problems in the untouched and important half of agriculture involved in distribution, in marketing, rural finance, and rural organization. The legislative and administrative record has been made. The achievements speak for themselves and need little more than summarily to be set forth.

\$36,129,000 THIS YEAR.

The Democratic party has generously shown its appreciation of the importance of agriculture. The year before it assumed charge of the Government the aggregate of all the appropriations for the activities of the Federal Government in relation to agriculture was \$24,077,000. The amount appropriated for the fiscal year 1917 for similar purposes is approximately \$36,129,000, an increase of over 50 per cent.; and two of the laws enacted during the last three years, the Cooperative Agricultural Extension Act and the Federal Aid Road Act, involve large annual increases, the former of \$500,000 a year until 1922-23, and the latter of \$5,000,000 annually for four years, each necessitating contributions of equal amounts from the States working in cooperation with the Federal Government.

Particular pains have been taken to foster production through every promising approach. Greatly increased provision has been made for improving cultural methods, for

CAN YOU BEAT THIS MR. HUGHES?

IN brief, this is the Wilson Administration's record of practical, efficient and progressive achievement in making farming and all rural pursuits more attractive and more lucrative:

1. **REORGANIZATION OF DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE** bringing about a more logical and effective grouping of its activities and making all its work more directly helpful to farmers.

2. **COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION ACT**, taking directly to the farms the information amassed by the Department and the State agricultural colleges regarding ways and means of applying better method and up-to-date machinery to increase the pleasure and the profit of farming.

3. **ATTACK UPON THE PROBLEMS OF DISTRIBUTION**, giving attention for the first time to the "second half of agriculture" by the adoption of practical plans of rural organization, by improving marketing facilities and by introducing ways of avoiding waste and loss.

4. **COTTON FUTURES ACT**, providing standards for cotton, supervision of the operations of cotton exchanges and placing the sale of cotton on a firmer basis.

5. **UNITED STATES GRAIN STANDARDS ACT**, bringing about uniformity in the grading of grain, enabling the farmer to obtain a fairer price for his product, and affording him a financial incentive to raise better grades of grain.

6. **THE UNITED STATES WAREHOUSE ACT**, authorizing the Department of Agriculture to license bonded warehouses, making possible the issuance of reliable and easily negotiable warehouse receipts, permitting the better storing of farm products, increasing the desirability of receipts as collateral for loans, and promoting the standardization of storage and marketing processes.

7. **THE FEDERAL AID ROAD ACT**, providing cooperation between the Federal and State Governments in the construction of rural roads which will strongly influence the development of good road building along right lines, stimulate larger production and better marketing, promote a fuller and more attractive rural life, add greatly to the convenience and economic welfare of all the people, and strengthen the national foundations.

8. **THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT**, authorizing national banks to lend money on farm mortgages and recognizing the peculiar needs of the farmer by giving his paper a period of maturity of six months.

9. **THE FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT**, creating a banking system that will reach intimately into the rural districts, operate on terms suited to the farmer's needs under systematic management, introduce business methods into farm finance, reduce the cost of handling farm loans, place upon the market mortgages which will be a safe investment for private funds, attract into agricultural operations a fair share of the capital of the Nation, and lead to a reduction of interest rates in all rural communities.

increasing varieties of staple crops and introducing new ones, for encouraging standardization, for introducing drought and insect-resisting plants, and especially for eradicating and controlling plant and animal diseases.

Careful thought has been given to the matter of increasing the meat supply of the Nation. The appropriation for the eradication of the cattle tick has been nearly doubled, that for the control of hog cholera has been increased from \$100,000 to \$360,000, ample appropriations have been made for the eradication of the menacing and destructive foot-and-mouth

disease, and the disease has been eradicated at a cost to the Federal Government of nearly \$4,500,000.

No pains have been spared to improve the grazing conditions in the National Forests, and attention has been directed to the necessity of improving the grazing conditions on the public lands.

Special efforts have been made to bring about an increase in the number of animals in the settled farm areas of the country, and large appropriations have been made for the control and the eradication of predatory animals destructive to live stock.

But it was obvious that no less important than the securing of additional information for farmers was the problem of conveying it to them and of inducing them to apply it, and that it was little short of criminal to spend millions of dollars to acquire valuable information and not to use every possible efficient agency available for placing it at the disposal of the rural population as promptly as possible. It was realized that if the average farmer could be induced to apply what the experts knew and what the best farmers practiced a revolution could be brought about in the agriculture of the Nation.

It was clearly a matter of urgency that through every proper channel at the earliest possible moment there be brought home to the 6,000,000 farm families of the Union the knowledge which the agricultural agencies of the Nation had acquired and were increasingly acquiring. Therefore, immediately the Department of Agriculture attacked this problem. It first dealt with the printed matter of the Department.

AN INFORMATION SERVICE.

It was clear that bulletins were not infrequently difficult to interpret, to understand, and to apply. It was necessary to adapt them to the classes of people they were intended to reach. The first step taken was to segregate the scientific bulletins for the scientists from the popular bulletins for the farmer; and no pains were spared to simplify the latter and to convey the information in the briefest, simplest and clearest form.

The second step was to devise a central agency to facilitate the securing of information by all interested parties and agencies, including the daily and weekly newspapers, and in particular the agricultural journals. It was ascertained that such papers would gladly use material if it were furnished to them in readily available form, and that correspondents of representative journals would telegraph to their home offices items giving important and timely agricultural information bearing upon pressing problems. Accordingly, the Office of Information was organized.

Its work has resulted not only in a fuller knowledge on the part of the farmers that they can get assistance and that bulletins are available, but it has also led to a vastly larger use of agricultural matter by the press of the Nation.

Furthermore, it was recognized that the printed page is not the most efficient educational medium, but that personal contact is requisite; that the demonstration method is the most effective way of reaching the farmer.

This idea was embodied in the cooperative agricultural extension act, approved May 8, 1914. This is one of the most significant and far-reaching measures for the education of adults ever adopted by any Government. Its aim is to take the results of the latest research and best practice in agriculture and home economics directly to the farmer and his family. Through it the Nation takes to the farmer and his wife and his children engaged in their daily tasks the best thought on problems of rural life. It incorporates the principle of coordination of activities between the State and the Nation. This is highly significant and important. It is essential that the two jurisdictions, the State and the Nation, serving the same people, shall act efficiently.

The Act directs that they shall jointly plan and execute the educational extension activities. Its purpose was to prevent friction, jealousy, duplication of work, and waste; and two years of administration of the Act justifies the assertion that it is accomplishing its purpose.

Carrying an appropriation of \$480,000 outright from the Federal Treasury for the first year, it provides for an increase the second year to \$600,000, and of \$500,000 annually thereafter until 1922-23, with the requirement that the States make available an equal amount. For 1922-23, and annually thereafter, there will be expended under the terms of the Act, from Federal and State sources alone, a total of over \$8,600,000 in the direct education of the farmer; and this fund is being and will be increasingly supplemented by contributions from local sources.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN ALL COUNTIES.

It is not extravagant to say that, when the Act is in full operation, there will be expended for the education of the rural population in agriculture and home economics from eleven to fourteen millions of dollars annually. This sum will be sufficient to place in each of the 2,850 rural counties of the Union two farm demonstrators and specialists who will assist the demonstrators in the more difficult problems confronting them. These agents are under the joint direction of the land-grant colleges and the Federal Department. This great force of teachers will convey to the farmer information not only as to the best methods of production, as to the improvement of breeds of plants and animals, as to the eradication and control of plant and animal diseases, soil improvement and farm management, but also as to the best marketing practices, the importance and possibilities of co-operation, of rural organization, and the making of rural life more profitable, comfortable, and attractive.

But there was a more significant conception, and the development of proposals for attacking even more urgent problems. The problems of production continue to be vital and important. It is essential not that less but that larger provision be made for investigations and practices in this field. It was clear, however, to Democratic leaders that further production in many directions waited on better distribution, and that in this field were involved fundamental problems of

justice and injustice which demanded solution. It was obvious that there was more to rural life than the mere increase of crops and animals, more even than the finding of markets, more than a matter of profits and even of justice in distribution, and that to limit the attack on rural life problems merely to these aspects of it would be inadequate and partial. The time had come to see to it that the fruits of modern civilization should not accrue so exclusively to the towns and cities.

That, relatively speaking, there had been neglect of the rural life of the Nation was clear. We had been so bent on building up great industrial centers, in rivalling other nations of the world in manufacturing, fostering it by every natural and artificial device we could think of, so busy trying to make each city larger by the next census, that we had, in great measure, overlooked the very foundations of our industrial existence. It had been assumed that we had a natural monopoly in agriculture, that it could take care of itself, and we had, therefore, cheerfully left it to do so; and recklessness and waste had been incident to our breathless conquest of the continent. President Wilson was right when he said early in his administration: "It has, singularly enough, come to pass that we have allowed the industry of our farms to lag behind the other activities of the country in its development. Our thoughts may ordinarily be concentrated upon the cities and the hives of industry, upon the cries of the crowded market place and the clangor of the factory, but it is from the quiet interspaces of the open valleys and the free hillsides that we draw the sources of life and of prosperity, from the farm and the ranch, from the forest and mine. Without these every street would be silent, every office deserted, every factory fallen into disrepair."

NO SYSTEM UNDER REPUBLICANS.

No systematic attention had been given by any agency or individuals to the pressing problems in the field of the economics of agriculture. Even the economists of the Nation had shown a singular indifference concerning them. They were busily studying the economic problems relating to industry. All were devoting their attention assiduously to banking, transportation, public debts, international payments, municipal and corporation finance, State and Federal finance, economic theory, the history of economics, the economic systems of Greece and Rome and the Middle Ages, but a mere handful had shown any appreciation of the numerous and complex problems of rural life which vexed the six million farmers of the Nation. The field of the economics of agriculture was practically unexplored, and there were doubts even as to the lines that inquiries should follow and as to the possibility of any results within a reasonable time. In view of these facts, the record of the Democratic party in this field has been striking. What are the items? In this place nothing more than a mere summary is possible.

In the first place, provision was made promptly for the creation of an Office of Markets and Rural Organization. Beginning with a modest sum, the appropriations for this

Office, including those for enforcing new laws designed to promote better marketing, have increased to \$1,200,000. Quickly an effective organization was developed and has been engaged in making market surveys, studying methods and costs, transportation and storage problems, city marketing and distribution, the establishment and promulgation of market grades and standards, and cooperation in production, marketing and finance. Since the problems of those engaged in producing and marketing perishables were especially urgent, plans were formulated to assist these producers through a market news service. The Democratic Congress has made available for this undertaking the sum of \$137,000. Effective assistance has been given to groups of producers in many areas. A similar service for live stock will be inaugurated during the year, an appropriation of \$65,000 having been made available for the purpose.

It was recognized by the Democratic leaders that even though the individual farmers were thoroughly efficient and community cooperation were established, the problems of production and marketing could not be solved adequately and justly because of conditions over which neither the individual nor the community had the requisite control. It was obvious to them that these conditions could be established only by legislation. They, therefore, set themselves to the task of devising the necessary measures.

RESERVE ACT GAVE ASSISTANCE.

In the Federal Reserve Act they authorized national banks to lend money on farm mortgages and recognized the peculiar needs of the farmer by giving his paper a period of maturity of six months. But this action did not place him in a position of equality with the merchant, manufacturer, or other citizen in urban communities and in the field of industry. It was essential that banking machinery be devised which would reach intimately into the rural districts, that it should operate on terms suited to the farmer's needs, and should be under sympathetic management. The need was for machinery which should introduce business methods into farm finance, bring order out of chaos, reduce the cost of handling farm loans, place upon the market mortgages which would be a safe investment for private funds, attract into agricultural operations a fair share of the capital of the Nation, and lead to a reduction of interest. These needs and these ideals have been met by the enactment of the Federal Farm Loan Act, approved July 17, 1916.

At the same time, the problem of establishing standards on which producers of farm products might trade, of supervising the trading in staple crops and the operations on futures exchanges, and of developing a better system of warehouses was attacked.

The farmers have been in a position singularly different from the producers of other products. Among the difficulties confronting them in the distribution of their products have been the lack of generally known or accepted standards for staple crops on which to trade, the absence of a system

for ascertaining commercial differences actually prevailing in the markets, the inadequacy of storage facilities, and the difficulty of securing storage certificates easily available as collateral for loans. These difficulties will be overcome in large measure through the operation of the Federal Farm Loan Act, the Cotton Futures Act, the United States Grain Standards Act, and the United States Warehouse Act. Under the Cotton Futures Act, which was enacted on August 18, 1914, and re-enacted in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1917, standards for cotton have been established, the operation of the futures exchanges have been supervised, and the sale of cotton has been put on a firmer basis.

SERIES OF IMPORTANT LAWS.

The United States Grain Standards Act, which is included in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for 1917, aims to bring about uniformity in the grading of grain, thereby enabling the farmer to obtain fairer prices for his product and affording him financial incentive to raise better grades of grain.

The United States Warehouse Act, also included in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for 1917, will enable the Department of Agriculture to license bonded warehouses in the various States and will make possible the issuance of reliable warehouse receipts which will be widely and easily negotiable. It will permit the better storing of farm products, increase the desirability of receipts as collateral for loans, and therefore will be of definite assistance in financing crops. It will also promote the standardizing of storages, of warehouse receipts, and of marketing processes.

Of no less importance for agriculture and for the national development is the Federal Aid Road Act, approved July 11, 1916. This is treated in a special article of the Text Book.

The Cooperative Agricultural Extension Act recognizes a new class of pupils—men and women, working at their daily tasks on the farm. It makes available to the States for the nine fiscal years after its passage the aggregate sum of \$23,120,000 of Federal funds to be expended for instruction and practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics. The States from their own resources must appropriate for like purposes a total of \$18,800,000, making a grand total of \$41,920,000 to be expended up to the end of the fiscal year 1923. Thereafter, the Federal Government is to continue to appropriate \$4,580,000 annually and the States must appropriate \$4,100,000 annually, making a total annual expenditure for this new form of agricultural promotion of \$8,680,000.

These sums by no means represent the full appropriation of the Federal Government to the county-agent and demonstration work. In addition, Congress, under the present administration, has appropriated directly to the Department of Agriculture for this purpose over \$1,000,000 a year. This sum does not include \$20,000 for aiding farmers' institutes and agricultural schools and over \$20,000 to be used by the Department in home economics investigations.

The table given below shows the distribution of the Federal funds to the several States, under the law:

State.	Per cent that rural population of State bears to total rural population. ¹	Fiscal year 1914-15.	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18, 1918-19, 1919-20, ¹ 1920-21, 1921-22	1922-23, and there-after.
		Amount each State will receive.	Maximum amount each State is entitled to receive.	Maximum amount each State is entitled to receive.	For the above fiscal years, add each year the amount given below to the total for the immediately preceding year.	For fiscal year 1922-23 and there-after.
Alabama.....	3.58	\$10,000	\$31,493	\$49,404	\$17,911	\$156,870
Arizona.....	.29	10,000	11,717	13,147	1,431	21,730
Arkansas.....	2.78	10,000	26,680	40,580	13,900	123,980
California.....	1.84	10,000	21,039	30,236	9,198	85,424
Colorado.....	.80	10,000	14,795	18,789	3,995	42,759
Connecticut....	.232	10,000	11,398	12,563	1,165	19,554
Delaware.....	.213	10,000	11,281	12,347	1,067	18,749
Florida.....	1.08	10,000	16,491	21,898	5,408	54,345
Georgia.....	4.19	10,000	35,174	56,151	20,978	182,020
Idaho.....	.52	10,000	13,110	15,702	2,592	31,254
Illinois.....	4.38	10,000	36,282	58,184	21,902	189,596
Indiana.....	3.16	10,000	28,943	44,729	15,786	139,442
Iowa.....	3.13	10,000	28,794	44,456	15,662	138,428
Kansas.....	2.43	10,000	24,556	36,686	12,130	109,466
Kentucky.....	3.51	10,000	31,088	48,660	17,573	154,103
Louisiana.....	2.35	10,000	24,094	35,839	11,745	106,309
Maine.....	.731	10,000	14,389	18,047	3,657	39,991
Maryland.....	1.29	10,000	17,748	24,203	6,456	62,936
Massachusetts..	.49	10,000	12,922	15,374	2,443	30,029
Michigan.....	3.00	10,000	28,002	43,005	15,002	133,016
Minnesota.....	2.48	10,000	24,899	37,315	12,416	111,811
Mississippi.....	3.22	10,000	29,330	45,438	16,108	142,086
Missouri.....	3.84	10,000	33,036	52,232	19,196	167,411
Montana.....	.491	10,000	12,952	15,412	2,460	30,172
Nebraska.....	1.79	10,000	20,728	29,668	8,940	83,308
Nevada.....	.14	10,000	10,834	11,529	695	15,699
New Hampshire..	.36	10,000	12,133	13,909	1,777	24,372
New Jersey.....	1.28	10,000	17,660	24,043	6,383	62,841
New Mexico.....	.57	10,000	13,414	16,259	2,845	33,329
New York.....	3.90	10,000	33,443	52,979	19,536	170,195
North Carolina..	3.82	10,000	32,953	52,081	19,127	166,846
North Dakota....	1.04	10,000	16,236	21,431	5,196	52,607
Ohio.....	4.26	10,000	35,557	56,855	21,297	184,640
Oklahoma.....	2.71	10,000	26,256	39,802	13,547	121,081
Oregon.....	.741	10,000	14,442	18,144	3,701	40,352
Pennsylvania....	6.15	10,000	46,893	77,637	30,744	262,101
Rhode Island....	.04	10,000	10,220	10,402	183	11,497
South Carolina..	2.61	10,000	25,691	38,768	13,076	117,223
South Dakota....	1.03	10,000	16,167	21,308	5,140	52,148
Tennessee.....	3.53	10,000	31,202	48,870	17,668	154,878
Texas.....	5.99	10,000	45,970	75,945	29,975	255,795
Utah.....	.41	10,000	12,438	14,468	2,031	26,655
Vermont.....	.38	10,000	12,275	14,170	1,896	25,543
Virginia.....	3.21	10,000	29,267	45,323	16,056	141,659
Washington.....	1.09	10,000	16,523	21,958	5,436	54,571
West Virginia...	2.01	10,000	22,071	32,130	10,059	92,484
Wisconsin.....	2.69	10,000	26,164	39,634	13,470	120,454
Wyoming.....	.21	10,000	11,250	12,290	1,041	18,541
		99.988	\$480,000	\$1,080,000	\$500,000	\$4,580,000

¹. Figures after 1920 subject to returns of fourteenth census on rural population.

The framers of the Act recognized the important part played in farm economy by farm women by requiring that a part of the Federal funds appropriated under the Act be devoted to practical demonstrations in home economics. The purpose of these demonstrations is to bring to the farm woman information which will enable her to lessen household

drudgery, utilize improved methods, and make her own life and that of her children happier, healthier, and more effective.

WOMEN HAVE APPROPRIATION.

The farm women have a definite appropriation all their own. During the last fiscal year, \$542,732 of State and Federal funds, or nearly 11½ per cent. of the total expenditures for extension work, was expended for demonstrations in home management and home economics, under which are included the devising and demonstrating of labor-saving machinery and methods for the farm housewife. In addition, the Federal Government is expending for the enforcement of the Food and Drugs Act and the Meat Inspection Law nearly \$4,000,000 annually, which, by protecting the food supply and preventing adulteration, directly helps farm and other women in their important responsibility of providing safe and nourishing food for their families.

During sixteen years of uninterrupted control of the National Government, the Republicans had ample opportunity to put through all or any part of the constructive programme for agricultural advancement herewith described.

They didn't do it.

This is just one of the many reasons why the farmers will come through, strong, for Woodrow Wilson in November.

WILSON VS. TAFT IN AGRICULTURE.

Total of All Appropriations for Department of Agriculture, Including Special Acts.

UNDER TAFT.		UNDER WILSON.	
Fiscal Year.		Fiscal Year.	
1910.....	\$16,542,736	1914.....	\$24,076,945
1911.....	20,070,828	1915.....	28,530,832
1912.....	22,370,016	1916.....	28,004,082
1913.....	22,666,496	1917.....	36,128,852

PRESIDENT WRITES OF HIS WORK FOR FARMER

Outlines Constructive Program In Letter to Chairman House Agriculture Committee

(*Congressional Record*, August 15, 1916.)

The White House,
Washington, August 11, 1916.

My Dear Mr. Lever—It has given me much satisfaction to approve today the bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes, because the bill not only makes very generous provision for the improvement of farm production in the Nation and for investigations and demonstrations in the field of the marketing of farm crops and of the organization of rural life, but also contains three well-conceived measures designed to improve market practices and the storage and financing of staple crops. As the passage of this bill marks the practical completion of an important part of the program of the betterment of rural life which was mapped out at the beginning of the administration, I feel that I can not let the occasion pass without conveying to you and to your associates in both Houses my appreciation of the service rendered to the Nation in strengthening its great agricultural foundations.

The record, legislative as well as administrative, is a remarkable one. It speaks for itself and needs only to be set forth.

1. Appreciation of the importance of agriculture has been shown through greatly and intelligently increased appropriations for its support.

2. Particular pains have been taken to foster production by every promising means, and careful thought has been given especially to the matter of increasing the meat supply of the Nation.

3. Greatly increased provision has been made, through the enactment of the cooperative agricultural extension act, for conveying agricultural information to farmers and for inducing them to apply it. This piece of legislation is one of the most significant and far-reaching measures for the education of adults ever adopted by any Government. It provides for cooperation between the States and the Federal Government. This is a highly important and significant principle. When the act is in full operation there will be expended annually under its terms, from Federal and State sources alone, a total of over \$8,600,000 in the direct education of the farmer; and this amount is being and will be increasingly supplemented by contributions from local sources. It will permit the placing in

each of the 2,850 rural counties of the Nation two farm demonstrators and specialists, who will assist the demonstrators in the more difficult problems confronting them.

4. Systematic provision for the first time has been made for the solution of problems in that important half of agriculture which concerns distribution marketing, rural finance, and rural organization.

5. Provision was made promptly for the creation of an Office of Markets and Rural Organization, and the appropriations for this office, including those for enforcing new laws designed to promote better marketing, have been increased to \$1,200,000. The more difficult problems of marketing are being investigated and plans are in operation for furnishing assistance to producers of perishables through a market news service. A similar service for live-stock interests will be inaugurated during the year.

6. The problem of securing the uniform grading of staple crops, of regulating dealings and traffic in them, of developing a better system of warehouses, and of providing more available collateral for farm loans has been successfully dealt with.

7. Under the cotton-futures act standards for cotton have been established, the operations of the future exchanges have been put under supervision, and the sale of cotton has been placed on a firmer basis.

8. The United States grain-standards act will secure uniformity in the grading of grain, enable the farmer to obtain fairer prices for his product, and afford him an incentive to raise better grades of grain.

9. The United States warehouse act will enable the Department of Agriculture to license bonded warehouses in the various States. It will lead to the development of better storage facilities for staple crops and will make possible the issuance of reliable warehouse receipts which will be widely and easily negotiable.

10. Of no less importance for agriculture and for the national development is the Federal aid road act. This measure will conduce to the establishment of more effective highway machinery in each State, strongly influence the development of good road building along right lines, stimulate larger production and better marketing, promote a fuller and more attractive rural life, add greatly to the convenience and economic welfare of all the people, and strengthen the national foundations. The act embodies sound principles of road legislation and will safeguard the expenditure of the funds arising under the act not only, but will also result in the more efficient use of the large additional sums made available by States and localities.

11. The Federal reserve act benefits the farmer, as it does all the other people of the Nation, by guaranteeing better banking, safeguarding the credit structure of the country, and preventing panics. It takes particular note of the special needs of the farmer by making larger provision for loans through national banks on farm mort-

gages and by giving farm paper a maturity period of six months.

12. It was essential, however, that banking machinery be devised which would reach intimately into the rural districts, that it should operate on terms suited to the farmer's needs, and should be under sympathetic management. The need was for machinery which would introduce business methods into farm finance, bring order out of chaos, reduce the cost of handling farm loans, place upon the market mortgages which would be a safe investment for private funds, attract into agricultural operations a fair share of the capital of the Nation, and lead to a reduction of interest. These needs and these ideals have been met by the enactment of the Federal farm-loan act.

I am glad to have had an opportunity to take part in the execution of this large program, which, I believe, will result in making agriculture more profitable and country life more comfortable and attractive, and therefore insure the retention in rural districts of an efficient and contented population.

Faithfully yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. A. F. LEVER,
Chairman Committee on Agriculture,
House of Representatives.

WILL REDUCE THE NUMBER OF FARMER TENANTS

(From Washington Post, Ind.)

The rural credits and good roads bills * * * should make the lot of the farmer much easier. The farmers have been obtaining good prices for their products and are generally prosperous, but the fact must be faced that the percentage of farmers who own their own land without encumbrance is extremely small.

When Germany put her rural credits system into effect the percentage of farmer tenants was about as large as is the case in the United States. Under the German credit system, however, nearly 90 per cent. of the German farmers now own their own land.

With federal aid to road construction and this new rural credits law it should not be long before the same fortunate condition is brought about in the United States.

\$75,000,000 FOR GOOD ROADS

Democrats Put Through "Porkless" Law That Assures Highway Development—A "Prepared- ness" Measure

THE Democratic platform of 1912 declared in favor of national aid to state and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads." The Republican convention of 1912 was silent on this vital topic, a topic which has since become one of the main planks in the program of preparedness. The Progressive platform pledged that party to foster the extension of good roads in every possible way.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, UNDER WOODROW WILSON, HAS MADE GOOD ITS PLATFORM PLEDGE AND HAS WRITTEN ON THE STATUTE BOOKS A GOOD ROADS BILL WHICH HAS THE ENDORSEMENT OF STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSIONERS, AUTOMOBILE SOCIETIES, AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS AND NUMEROUS EXPERT AUTHORITIES. On July 11, 1916, the President signed the good roads bill. On January 25 it passed the House by 282 to 81. On May 8 it passed the Senate without a roll call. In the subsequent weeks the House and Senate bills were patiently remolded in conference, resulting in the perfected measure to which the President finally affixed his name.

On the average unimproved road the average cost of hauling has been found to be 23 cents per ton mile, while on improved roads the average cost is only 13 cents per ton mile. The total production of corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, hay, and cotton for 1915 was 270,000,000 tons. If only 100,000,000 tons were hauled a distance of 7 miles, the result would be 700,000,000 ton miles, which at an average cost of 23 cents per ton mile would represent a financial burden of \$161,000,000. With an adequate system of improved roads this burden would be reduced by approximately \$70,000,000, or 14 times the Federal aid appropriation for roads for the year ending June 30, 1917.

ROADS IN NATIONAL FORESTS.

The Federal Aid Road Act, in addition to appropriating \$75,000,000 for the next five years for rural post roads in the States, appropriates \$1,000,000 a year for ten years, or \$10,000,000 of Federal funds for the survey, construction, and maintenance of roads and trails within or only partly within the National Forests, when necessary for the use and development of resources upon which communities in or near the Forests are dependent. This aid to road building in the National Forest areas is highly equitable, because the Federal Government, which is the owner of assets in many communi-

ties of the West, to the extent in some instances of 50 per cent. or more, should take its proper part in assisting struggling communities to develop themselves. Without this Federal aid, these communities, many of which are just beginning their existence, either would have to bear the full cost of roads or do without proper means of communication for the marketing of their supplies and the conduct of their business. Under the present plan, at the time when these communities need help most, the Federal Government advances the money for road building which is repaid gradually out of the National Forest revenues in which these communities already share.

RESULTS EXPECTED.

The \$10,000,000 referred to here will be expended over a period of ten years, making a total contemplated expenditure out of the Federal Treasury for the five- and ten-year periods of \$85,000,000. There will be at the same time an expenditure from State funds of approximately the same amount—perhaps a larger amount—making an aggregate contemplated by the bill of about \$170,000,000.

The Act furnishes satisfactory safeguards for the efficient expenditure of this money. It will result in a wiser application of large sums which will be expended in the several States in excess of the amounts which it appropriates. It has been estimated that for several years past the Nation has been expending the equivalent of approximately \$225,000,000 a year for roads, much of it through inadequate machinery, with consequent waste. Through the improvements of machinery, methods, and processes which this Act will effect there will result greatly increased efficiency in handling the additional local funds.

NO WASTE OF MONEY.

THE DEMOCRATIC GOOD ROADS BILL IS A "PORKLESS" BILL. IT PROVIDES THAT STATE AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS SHALL CONTRIBUTE EQUALLY TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS WITHIN STATE BOUNDARIES. A CONSERVATIVE OFFICIAL OPINION IS THAT THIS LAW:

"WILL CONDUCE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MORE EFFECTIVE HIGHWAY MACHINERY IN EACH STATE, STRONGLY INFLUENCES THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD ROAD BUILDING ALONG RIGHT LINES, STIMULATE LARGER PRODUCTION AND BETTER MARKETING, PROMOTE A FULLER AND MORE ATTRACTIVE RURAL LIFE, ADD

GREATLY TO THE COVENIENCE AND ECONOMIC WELFARE OF ALL OUR PEOPLE, AND STRENGTHEN OUR NATIONAL FOUNDATIONS."

Although Republicans in Congress hastened in large numbers to join with Democrats to pass this bill, already purely partisan criticisms have been made against it. In order to set forth the true purpose of the bill and at the same time to answer those who are carping against it, the following summary has been prepared:

1. The State and the Federal Government shall co-operate in the construction of rural post roads. It seems highly desirable that the two jurisdictions serving the same people shall work together instead of at cross purposes and that the people shall have the benefit of the joint counsel and direction of the best agencies the two jurisdictions have been able to devise.

2. Each State shall give its assent to the provisions of the act.

3. The funds made available by this act shall be used only for construction or reconstruction purposes.

4. For such purposes each State shall put up at least an equal amount of money or its equivalent in labor and materials at least equal to the Federal Aid.

5. It shall be the duty of the State or the civil subdivision thereof, as the law of the State provides, to maintain the roads constructed under this act.

6. No money shall be expended in any State which has not a State highway department and the Federal department shall deal with no agency in the State other than the State highway department.

7. The Secretary of Agriculture and the State highway department shall agree upon the roads to be constructed and the character and method of construction.

8. The State highway department shall submit to the Secretary of Agriculture projects setting forth proposed construction; that the Secretary of Agriculture may approve or disapprove a project; and no money shall be paid out of the Federal Treasury under the act on any project until such project shall

WHY?

Why should the country prefer Mr. Hughes to Mr. Wilson? In all the discussion of the elements of his availability and strength, in all that has been said about the demand of the people for his nomination, there has been no information vouchsafed on that point. If there is any reason on earth why the American people should expect a better administration of their domestic affairs or a wiser guidance in their foreign relations from Mr. Hughes than Mr. Wilson, it has thus far escaped disclosure.—From New York Times (Ind.).

have been approved and plans, specifications and estimates therefor shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of Agriculture.

9. There shall be appropriated out of the Federal Treasury amounts as follows: First year, \$5,000,000; second, \$10,000,000; third, \$15,000,000; fourth, \$20,000,000; fifth, \$25,000,000; total, \$75,000,000. As the States are required to make available an equal amount or its equivalent, there will be involved \$150,000,000 for co-operative construction work extending over a period of five years.

10. Over half the Federal amount for the five years will go to States which now have not only satisfactory highways departments but funds for maintenance. Plans will undoubtedly be set on foot by the Department of Agriculture, co-operating with the State highway agencies, to secure more satisfactory arrangements for maintenance from legislatures in the more backward States. Roads built with federal aid must be satisfactorily maintained, or further federal aid will be withheld for roads in that section.

REPUBLICANS VOTE AYE.

Among the Republican members of the House of Representatives who voted with the Democratic majority in favor of the good roads bill were Representatives Campbell of Kansas, Cannon of Illinois, Cooper of Wisconsin, Esch of Wisconsin, Hinds of Maine, McKinley of Illinois, Moore of Pennsylvania, Roberts of Massachusetts and Woods of Iowa.

Republican Representative Caleb Powers of Kentucky voted for the bill, saying, "I am going to put myself down on the side of national aid for road construction and road improvement."

Republican Representative Nicholas Longworth of Ohio, explained his negative vote on the bill on the ground that he was "not willing at this time to risk the failure of adequate appropriations for preparedness" because of the expenditure called for in the bill. The Democratic Congress, however, has not only passed measures which the Republicans admit are adequate for national defense, but it has also by increasing the income tax and continuing other internal taxes, raised sufficient funds for all measures of preparedness.

A FEATURE OF THE BILL TO WHICH LITTLE ATTENTION HAS BEEN DRAWN IS THAT IT DOES NOT CALL FOR ANY EXTENSIVE OR EXPENSIVE INCREASE IN BUREAUCRACY, THE CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF ROADS HAVING BEEN PUT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT, INSURING ECONOMY, EFFICIENCY AND SCIENTIFIC SYSTEM.

DISTRIBUTION BY STATES.

Secretary Houston, July 21 last, announced the following apportionment of the balance, \$4,850,000, among the several

States in accordance with their area, population, and actual mileage of star and rural delivery routes as prescribed in the Act:

State.	Sum Apportioned.	State.	Sum Apportioned.
Alabama	\$104,148.90	Delaware	\$8,184.37
Arizona	68,513.52	Florida	55,976.27
Arkansas	82,689.10	Georgia	134,329.48
California	151,063.92	Idaho	60,463.50
Colorado	83,690.14	Illinois	220,926.23
Connecticut	31,090.44	Indiana	135,747.62
Iowa	146,175.60	North Carolina.	114,381.92
Kansas	143,207.40	North Dakota ..	76,143.06
Kentucky	97,471.91	Ohio	186,905.42
Louisiana	67,474.66	Oklahoma	115,139.00
Maine	48,451.50	Oregon	78,687.37
Maryland	44,047.22	Pennsylvania ..	230,644.17
Massachusetts	73,850.95	Rhode Island ..	11,665.71
Michigan	145,783.72	South Carolina.	71,887.64
Minnesota	142,394.06	South Dakota ..	80,946.02
Mississippi	88,905.84	Tennessee	114,153.48
Missouri	169,720.41	Texas	291,927.81
Montana	98,287.19	Utah	56,950.15
Nebraska	106,770.81	Vermont	22,844.47
Nevada	64,398.30	Virginia	99,660.71
New Hampshire	20,996.62	Washington	71,884.28
New Jersey ...	59,212.68	West Virginia ..	53,270.46
New Mexico	78,737.81	Wisconsin	128,361.07
New York	250,720.27	Wyoming	61,196.82
		Total	\$4,850,000.00

A reapportionment will be made for each of the four remaining fiscal years, as the amounts appropriated are different and the population must be taken from the latest available Federal census and the mileage of rural delivery and star routes from the certificate of the Postmaster General for the next preceding fiscal year.

HATS OFF.

ADVERTISING AND SELLING, New York City, January, 1916:

A typewriter company sent out circular letters stating that a competitor had moved his factory and would no longer be able to fill orders.

The Commission wrote on official stationery politely saying nay, and presto, the unfair competition stopped.

In another case a manufacturer published advertisements disparaging the goods of a competitor in an improper way (details not given) and a gentle word from the Commission was all that was necessary to make the manufacturer right about face.

Hats off to Uncle Sam! * * *

INCOME TAX GRANTS BELATED JUSTICE

Fairest Revenue Law Made Operative By Democrats After Long, Hard Fight—Mr. Hughes' Non-Progressive Position

ONE of the most valuable and lasting services rendered the American people by the present Democratic administration was the adoption of a comprehensive income tax law as a permanent part of our fiscal system.

While the inauguration of any tax method new to the people involves some complications in the beginning, yet the present income tax law has been administered, from the outset, more successfully and with less difficulty than either of the more than fifty income tax laws of other countries. It can also be said in compliment to those subject to the tax that they have more cheerfully and willingly acquiesced in this law than income taxpayers elsewhere.

As a revenue producer the present law is more than meeting expectations. This tax requires at least two years to attain its normal revenue yield. For the first full year of its existence, the fiscal year 1915, the law yielded \$80,000,000, while for the fiscal year 1916 its receipts jumped to \$124,000,000. Under the proposed new rates the law will yield about \$230,000,000 for the fiscal year 1917. The lowest rate of 2 per cent. applies to individuals and corporations, while the additional or graduated rates aggregate 12 per cent. on the higher individual incomes which also include those from corporate sources.

MANY COUNTRIES TAX INCOMES.

This wholesome method of taxation has found and forced its way into the revenue statutes of virtually every civilized country because of its inherent honesty and absolute equity as a tax. It is a truism based upon universal experience that under any other method of taxation, accumulated property falls far short of bearing its fair share of taxes. After thousands of years of tax discussion and controversy, the overwhelming verdict of the ablest authorities on taxation throughout the world is that ability to pay is the best test, and that such ability is most accurately measured by income.

For the year 1913 the American people as a whole were annually paying \$2,130,000,000 taxes for governmental purposes, federal, state and local. These comprised tariff taxes, general and special property taxes, business, license, occupation, poll and other taxes.

The tariff taxes persons upon what they eat and wear and use. Under this method the poor man with a large family pays more taxes than the rich man with a small family.

THE \$318,000,000 PAID TO THE GOVERNMENT IN TARIFF TAXES FOR THE YEAR 1913 CAME PRINCIPALLY OFF THE DAY LABORER AND THE PERSON OF SMALL MEANS WHO COMPRISE THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE. The internal revenue tax on whiskey and tobacco, amounting to \$309,000,000 for the same year, was likewise distributed.

The less than 2 per cent. of our population who own or control more than 50 per cent. of the accumulated property of the country contributed but a very minor portion of the \$627,000,000 thus paid to the federal government in 1913. The chief burden of the \$1,500,000,000 taxes paid the states and their subdivisions in 1913 fell mainly on the small property owner.

Less than 20 per cent. of all personalty, and probably less than 10 per cent. of all intangible personalty, is reached for taxation under existing laws. Bonds, mortgage notes, and other intangible personalty, aggregate near \$50,000,000,000, or about one-third of the total wealth of this country. Urban real estate evades the chief portion of its fair share of taxes under present laws.

EQUITABLE REVENUE SOURCE.

IN THE LIGHT OF OUR PROPERTY CONDITIONS, INEQUITABLE AND INEFFICIENT TAX LAWS, AND UNEQUAL TAX BURDENS, IT HAS BEEN FOUND THAT THE TAX ON INCOMES AS A SUPPLEMENT TO OUR PRESENT REVENUE LAWS EMBODIES THE BEST METHOD OF EQUITABLY AND EFFECTUALLY REACHING ALL PROPERTY WHICH SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO TAXATION.

The enactment of the present law under this national administration marked the end of a nation-wide contest extending back more than twenty years. The income tax was viciously assailed in the courts, through the press, and on the stump, by every agency that the power and influence of accumulated wealth could command.

Ignoring the fact that the tariff as framed was a vicious, inequitable class tax which practically exempted the wealth of the country, the opposition long denounced the proposed income tax for no other reason than that it would require this same wealth to pay its reasonable proportion of tax to the government. Every conceivable argument to delay, and if possible to defeat, the enactment of an income tax law, was invoked. These specious objections, however, were overcome both by reason and by the experience of every other nation that had tried out this tax method.

As a last recourse the opposition finally admitted that the federal government should have the power to impose this tax, but only in case of exigency. When the Payne tariff bill was pending a majority of Congress, composed of Democrats and a small minority of Progressive Republicans, was about to compel the insertion of the income tax provision. The outcome was the adoption of the corporation excise tax provision and the submission to the states of the income

To Candidate Hughes:—

As Governor of New York, you opposed the income tax amendment to the Constitution. Does this antagonism persist? Do you or do you not believe in paying for preparedness out of a tax on incomes, inheritances and munitions?

From list of ten questions addressed to Mr. Hughes August 1, 1916, by thirty-seven famous authors.

tax amendment to the constitution in lieu of such income tax provision. SPEAKING FOR HIS PARTY IN CONGRESS, SENATOR ALDRICH SAID ON THE FLOOR OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE ON JUNE 20, 1909:

"I SHALL VOTE FOR THE CORPORATION TAX AS A MEANS TO DEFEAT THE INCOME TAX."

In the same connection and under the stress of the same conditions the income tax amendment forced its way through Congress. Those then in control of the Republican party, however, still clung to the contention that if perchance the requisite number of states should ratify this amendment at some time in the future the income tax should be utilized only in times of exigency or emergency. This was the last stand made by the opponents of the tax.

HOW HUGHES "TRIMMED."

CHAS. E. HUGHES, STYLED BY MANY AS THE REFORM GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, WHEN THE AMENDMENT WAS SUBMITTED TO THE LEGISLATURE, STARTLED THE COUNTRY BY CHAMPIONING THE VIEWS OF THE REACTIONARY AND STANDPAT LEADERS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THIS RESPECT, IN A MESSAGE TO HIS STATE LEGISLATURE STRONGLY OBJECTING TO THE RATIFICATION OF THE AMENDMENT. IN HIS MESSAGE, HE FIRST PROTESTED THAT HE FAVORED GIVING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THE POWER TO LAY AN INCOME TAX WITHOUT APPORTIONMENT. BUT HE HASTENED TO QUALIFY THIS VIEW, IN EFFECT, BY ADDING:

"I BELIEVE THAT THIS POWER SHOULD BE HELD BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, SO AS TO PROPERLY EQUIP IT AS A MEANS OF MEETING NATIONAL EXIGENCIES."

WHILE THE REFORM GOVERNOR THUS CONSENTED TO GIVING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

THIS TAXING POWER, IT WAS ON CONDITION THAT THE POWER SHOULD NOT BE EXERCISED EXCEPT ON THE RARE OCCASION OF AN EMERGENCY OR EXIGENCY. HAD HIS RECOMMENDATION BEEN HEEDDED, CONGRESS WOULD NOT TODAY HAVE THE POWER TO IMPOSE AN INCOME TAX TO MEET THE MOST EXTREME AND PRESSING EXIGENCY. In the second place, he further qualified his statement professedly favoring federal authority to impose this tax, by offering on wholly insufficient grounds what he claimed was an insuperable objection to the ratification of the income tax amendment. That objection was that if given this power, the federal government might tax the income derived from state and municipal bonds. Even Senator Root felt constrained publicly to controvert this view. Governor Hughes concluded his message as follows:

"I, therefore, deem it my duty, as Governor of the State, to recommend that this proposed amendment should not be ratified."

WHY DID HE DO IT?

Why did the Governor feel called upon to send this message to the Legislature? In dealing with this amendment the Legislature was really acting in the capacity of a convention and not in that of a legislative body. The function of the Governor in such circumstances is the purely ministerial one of transmitting the proposed amendment to the legislative body, yet so anxious did the Governor seem to defeat the amendment, that he went outside his official function and launched his entire prestige and power as Governor in the form of an official message against its ratification. He had no power of veto nor official function to recommend.

The following year, under a Democratic Governor, New York State joined with the large majority of States in ratifying the income tax amendment. Only six States in the Union voted against its ratification. Numerous influential Republicans openly opposed the position taken by Governor Hughes.

The argument that the income tax should only be temporary and designed to meet emergencies is very similar to that long made against the enactment of the internal revenue tax on whiskey and tobacco. When the expenses of the federal government jumped from \$61,000,000 a year in 1860 to more than \$260,000,000 following the war, this argument ceased and these taxes became permanent. IN THE LIGHT OF THE FACT THAT OUR FEDERAL EXPENDITURES INCREASED FROM \$432,000,000 IN 1897 TO \$681,000,000 IN 1913, AND COMMENCING WITH THE PRESENT FISCAL YEAR WILL AGGREGATE MORE THAN \$850,000,000 ON ACCOUNT OF THE EXTRAORDINARY EXPENDITURES FOR THE ARMY AND NAVY, IT CAN NO LONGER BE SERIOUSLY SUGGESTED THAT THE TAX ON INCOMES SHOULD ONLY BE UTILIZED IN CASE OF EXIGENCY. Why should the laboring man and the person with little or no property pay a permanent tax on the sugar he eats, the

woolen and cotton clothes he wears, on his occupation as a huckster, insurance agent, family grocer, and on the small amount of property he perchance owns, while the receivers of large incomes from more than 50 per cent. of the accumulated property of the country are granted immunity from their just share of taxes until an extreme exigency arises?

WILSON PLAYS NO FAVORITES.

THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION STANDS FOR JUST, INSTEAD OF UNJUST; HONEST, INSTEAD OF DISHONEST, TAXATION. IT WOULD NOT IMPOSE AN UNDUE PROPORTION UPON ANY CITIZEN OR CLASS. IT WOULD APPLY THE SAME SOUND AND UNERRING TEST OF ABILITY TO PAY TO EVERY CITIZEN, RICH OR HUMBLE, THROUGHOUT THE REPUBLIC.

THE FALSE ISSUE OF SECTIONALISM

The charge that any one section of the country has control of Congress under the Democratic Administration is unwarranted. Two-thirds of the members of the House and Senate Committees of the present Congress are from the South, East, West and Far West States, and not from the South.

On the House Appropriations Committee, of which Mr. Fitzgerald of New York, a Northerner, is Chairman, the South has 7 of the 21 members.

On the House, Ways and Means Committee, the South has only 6 of the 22 members.

On the House Committee on Agriculture, the South has 6 out of 21.

On the House Banking and Currency Committee, the South has 6 of 20 members.

On the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the South has 7 of the 21.

On the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the South has 5 out of 21.

These are the most important committees in the House.

In the Senate, the East, South and West have not only a large majority in each committee, but have a majority of the chairmanships.

On the Senate Finance Committee of 17 members, 5 are from the South.

On the Appropriations Committee of 19 members 8 are from the South.

On the Interstate Commerce Committee, of 17 members 4 are from the South.

On the Public Buildings Committee of 16 members, 5 are from the South.

This proportion runs through all of the larger committees of the Senate.

The appeal to sectionalism is but another evidence of the Republican lack of important issues.

NEW SHIP ACT RESTORES AMERICAN FLAG TO SEA

President Wilson Wins Hard Fight for a Progressive Merchant Marine Policy

THERE is no achievement of which the Democratic party may boast with greater justification than the enactment of the Shipping Law which President Wilson and a Democratic Congress has given the country, in spite of the opposition and power of the Shipping Trust and in spite of the indefensible obstruction of the Republican Party, controlled and enfeebled by special interests pleading for subsidies.

This great measure, combining economic and military preparedness, creates an American merchant marine in time of peace and a naval auxiliary in time of war. It is the first great practical step of any administration to restore the American flag to the seas in the interest of the people of the United States and of all legitimate business of the country. It will permit the development of a permanent constructive merchant marine policy conferring incalculable benefits not only upon our farmers, merchants, manufacturers and producers, but upon our ship-owners and investors as well.

By the creation of a shipping board for the regulation of ocean carriers in the interest of American shippers, the law will release our foreign commerce from the grip of shipping combinations and the control and domination of foreign flags. It will give the farmers and manufacturers of the United States the benefit of reasonable ocean freight rates and will free them of the notorious discriminations and injustices to which they have been subjected during all the years that the people of the United States have been clamoring for an American merchant marine.

REPUBLICANS CLING TO SUBSIDIES.

True to its record as the party of special privilege, the only alternative offered by the Republican party for this construction measure was a plea for ship subsidies. To take the people's money and give it outright to the shipowners with the longest pull and the strongest pull purely for their personal profit and enrichment without the remotest control by the Government or the slightest consideration of our shippers was the Republican plan.

No President has made a more valiant effort to restore the American flag to the seas than has Woodrow Wilson during the past two years, and no party has more brazenly outraged patriotism in a great national emergency, or wantonly at-

THE SHIP PURCHASE ACT—

1. Establishes a Governmental Shipping Board to supervise shipping matters generally. The great maritime nations have found similar supervision necessary.
2. Enables the Board to supervise freight and passenger schedules and prevent extortion by shipping combinations in restraint of trade.
3. Appropriates \$50,000,000 to be obtained from the sale of Panama Canal bonds, to purchase or construct ships which are to be leased to private shipping people to extend the foreign trade of the United States.
4. Makes such ships available at any time for use as naval auxiliaries or Army transports when needed, a step absolutely necessary for the national defense.
5. Authorizes the Board to establish new steamship lines to extend our foreign trade.
6. Restricts operation of Government lines to a period not to exceed five years after the close of the European war.

The law will result in the upbuilding of an American Merchant Marine in the foreign trade composed of ships of modern type which, by virtue of their modern construction, can be operated under the American flag, paying American rates of wages, giving American standards of food and service in successful competition with foreign rivals—a thing which the Republican Party has never been able to offer the country.

tempted to impede the economic progress of our country, than has the Republican party by purely partisan obstruction to a great measure for the relief of the suffering commerce of our farmers, our manufacturers and our merchants.

When the war set the continent of Europe afire, the ocean-borne commerce of the United States faced the greatest crisis of its history. Within a few weeks the ships of Germany were anchored in the harbors of the world powerless to move Great Britain, the other great flag upon which our trade depended, called to the colors, for the uses of naval warfare, many of her vessels of commerce; and in a little while scores of merchant ships were at the bottom of the sea.

The normal tonnage of the world was decreasing at a

frightful pace, and ocean freight rates were rising in unprecedented and extortionate degree. The commerce of the United States was at the mercy and favor of a foreign flag, and the farmers, manufacturers, merchants and exporters of our country were the helpless victims of the avarice of ship-owners who defied the sanctity of contracts and burdened our products with the highest freight charges in the history of the world.

It was the statesmanship of the Wilson administration that comprehended the situation, and, within a month after the declarations of war, proposed an emergency measure to meet the pressing needs of American business. That bill passed the House of Representatives, but was filibustered to death by a Republican minority in the Senate of the last session of the 63rd Congress. It was lost simply because the Republican minority would not permit the Senate to vote on the proposition.

FILIBUSTER CAUSED BIG LOSS.

No nation ever sustained a greater loss as the result of the defeat of one measure than did the United States sustain as a result of the defeat of the Emergency Shipping Bill; and the record of no party contains a more shameful blot than that of the Republican party which refused to allow the Senate of the United States to vote on a measure designed to extend the strong arm of the people's government to assist the people's commerce in the people's interest, and not in the interest of a favored few.

Undaunted by the failure of this emergency bill, the Administration immediately undertook to frame a measure designed not only to meet the abnormal conditions of the shipping world today, but also as a great step towards a permanent merchant marine policy which will ultimately restore the flag of the United States to the seas and give our suffering commerce the relief which is so essential to our prosperity. The Shipping Law is the result.

Because of the scarcity of tonnage and the increased power of shipowners to "charge all the traffic will bear," ocean freight rates have continued to soar, increasing 50 to 1,600 per cent. over normal charges, to the great detriment of our exporters. Three hundred million dollars continues to represent the enormous annual ocean freight rate bill of the United States, paid to the foreign owners of ships by American commerce.

Despite the extortionate assessments thus levied upon our

GREAT BRITAIN.

"One of the striking features of the subvention policy of Great Britain is that, with few exceptions, it has consisted exclusively of grants for the operation of fast mail steamships between the mother country and its colonies. * * * Cargo ships have received no aid from the British Government."

GERMANY.

"The largest of the German lines, the Hamburg-American Line, which is one of the largest in the world, has developed rapidly without Government aid. Much of the development of the next largest German Line, the North German Lloyd, has been accomplished on the unsubsidized services. * * * The rapid development of the German merchant marine is due chiefly to favorable economic conditions. The imports and exports are not only large, but also well balanced in tonnage. * * * Much of the success of German shipping is attributable also to the efficient coordination of the industrial and commercial activities of the country."

farmers, merchants and manufacturers, the Republican party pursued to the bitter end its inexcusable and unpatriotic opposition to the only practical means of relief.

In the House of Representatives 159 Republicans voted in solid phalanx against the Shipping Bill, and in the Senate of the United States the reactionary Republicans made every effort to defeat it. The bill passed the Senate 38 to 21, the negative vote consisting entirely of Republicans.

The Shipping Act is the constructive measure which says to every American skipper on the high seas: "The United States Government and the mobilized commercial forces of America are behind you with a navigation system and cargoes to see that you carry the commerce of America with success to your company and honor to your country."

FUTILITY OF REPUBLICAN SUBSIDIES.

Against the constructive program for the restoration of the American merchant marine, as now effectively developed by President Wilson and a Democratic Congress, the Republican platform of Hughes and Fairbanks offers the old discredited plan of ship subsidy and subventions.

Every practical shipper and ship owner knows that, as against the bid of present ocean rates, a mail subsidy is a dead-letter. Vessels receiving subsidies from the belligerent nations are today withdrawn from merchant service and drafted for war purposes. Merchant vessels of neutral countries desert their subsidized mail routes for the profits of Atlantic commerce.

An exhaustive report on the subject of "Government Aid to Shipping," in which Commercial Agent Grosvenor M. Jones, by direction of E. E. Pratt, Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, reviews the practices of all countries with relation to this subject, comes from the Department of Commerce as an interesting and timely expose of the subsidy theory now injected as an issue of the national campaign. It shows that cargo ships have received no aid from the British government; that the development of the

two largest German lines, the Hamburg-American and the North German Lloyd, has been accomplished without subsidies; that, notwithstanding large bounties, French merchant shipping has not held its own in competition with unsubsidized shipping of other nations; and that large merchant navies have been developed by Norway, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands, with practically no financial government aid as to transoceanic business.

OTHER SHIPPING LAWS

THE progressive record of the Wilson Administration and its supporting Democratic Congress upon shipping questions includes other important measures. Principal of these are

THE SEAMEN'S LAW

THE SHIP REGISTRY ACT.

THE CREATION OF THE WAR RISK BUREAU
IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

THE HARDY OFFICERING ACT.

PROVISIONS FOR GREATER SAFETY OF LIFE
AT SEA AGREED TO BY THE OTHER GREAT
MARITIME POWERS OF THE WORLD AFTER
CONGRESS HAD AUTHORIZED PRESIDENT
WILSON TO CALL OR PARTICIPATE IN A CON-
FERENCE OF THE POWERS UPON THE SUB-
JECT.

The loss of the Titanic on April 14, 1912, resulted in the loss of 1,517 lives and created an international demand for greater safety of life at sea. Congress passed a joint resolution authorizing the President to call or participate in an International Conference on safety of life at sea, which became a law June 12, 1912. Great Britain later called the conference, which met in London from November 12, 1913, to January 20, 1914. This conference was participated in by the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany and nine other nations.

Representative J. W. Alexander, chairman of the committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, was chairman of the American delegation appointed by President Wilson. There resulted a convention between the nations participating which provides:

1. For destruction of derelicts.
2. For the establishment in the North Atlantic Ocean by the United States of an ice patrol service which goes far to assure safety of navigation in the vicinity of ice.
3. For the construction of more seaworthy vessels and for carrying on passenger ships radio outfits, life-saving appliances, and fire protection equipment.

The Convention was ratified by the Senate of the United States in December, 1914, and by several of the other Contracting States, and steps were being taken to carry it into effect when the war in Europe suspended further action by the belligerent nations.

FRANCE.

"France has been called the 'bounty-giving nation par excellence.' The policy of granting aid to the merchant shipping of France has been so long in operation as to have become virtually a tradition. * * * Not only direct, but also indirect, State aid in many forms has been extended to French shipping. If Government aid could of itself create a large merchant marine, France should today have one of the largest. * * * The fact of the matter is, however, that the French merchant marine has not held its own in the international competition. In 1860 French shipping was outranked only by that of Great Britain and the United States, and the French merchant marine was more than one-fifth as large as that of Great Britain. By 1880 the French marine had been passed by the Norwegian, German and Italian navies. In 1910 the merchant navies of Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Norway and Japan outranked that of France."

The articles and regulations of the Convention as regards life-saving appliances, and manning of life boats, are made effective by section 14 of the Seamen's Act of March 4, 1915.

SEAMEN'S LAW ENDS HIGH SEA SLAVERY.

The Republican and Progressive Party platforms of 1912, like the Democratic platform of 1912, favored the speedy enactment of laws for the greater security of life at sea, and the repeal of all the laws compelling seamen to endure involuntary servitude.

The seamen had been knocking at the door of Congress for many years while the Republican Party had been in power to secure such legislation, but without avail. The Democratic Party secured control of the House of Representatives in the 62nd Congress, and the Democratic House and Republican Senate passed the seaman's bill. It was pocketed by President Taft and never became a law.

In 1913, at the beginning of President Wilson's administration, the bill was reintroduced in the Senate and House, both bodies being controlled by the Democrats. The bill passed, and was approved by the President on March 4, 1915, redeeming the pledge of the party platform, and the demands of the Federation of Labor for this remedial legislation in the interest of this long-neglected class of seafaring men, as well as to make greater provision for the safety of those who "go down to the sea in ships."

Of the twenty sections of the seamen's law, ten amend earlier laws. More than half of the act is incorporated in section 14, which sets out in detail the regulations regarding

the size, equipment and number of life boats, life rafts, life belts and other life-saving equipment, and the manning of the life boats and rafts, enacting into law the provisions of the London Convention of Safety of Life at Sea covering these subjects. A number of the provisions relate to and are intended to improve the living conditions of the sailors while at sea; the allowance of water per day is increased; the space allowed on merchant vessels except yachts, and pilot boats of less than 100 tons register, is increased from 75 cubic feet to 120 cubic feet, and not less than 16 square feet of deck space for each man.

The Act also requires a separate berth for each seaman, and proper lighting, draining, heating, and ventilation, also proper wash room and fumigation of forecastles at such intervals as may be required by the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service. Steamboats on the Mississippi River or its tributaries must furnish a proper place for the crew. Sailors are divided into at least two watches at sea, and firemen, oilers, and water tenders into at least three watches. When in a safe harbor the hours of labor are not to be more than nine, and no seaman shall be required to work on Sundays or on specified holidays.

SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES.

"Norway, Sweden and Denmark have merchant navies that rank among the largest in the world. These countries rank high in respect to per capita ownership of merchant shipping. The development of the merchant marine of Norway, which has taken place largely since 1880 and which has far outstripped that of France, has been due in a very small degree, if any, to financial aid granted by the Norwegian Government. * * * The policy of Sweden and Denmark has been similar to that of Norway in that financial aid by the Government has been limited to the payment of small amounts for mail and trade communications, chiefly within the limits of the Baltic sea."

THE NETHERLANDS.

"The policy of the Netherlands has been distinguished by the fact that no bounties or subsidies have been paid. The direct aid extended by the Government has been exclusively for mail subventions to improve steamship and mail communication with the far-distant colonies."

The provisions with reference to payment of wages are made more favorable to the seamen. Under the former laws wages were paid on an intercoastal traffic within two days after the termination of the voyage; now within 24 hours, and on foreign voyages they were paid within 3 days after the cargo had been delivered or within 5 days after the seaman's discharge, whichever occurred first.

SHIP REGISTRY ACT BOON IN EMERGENCY

The war in Europe began early in August, 1914. The effect on our foreign commerce for the time being was disastrous. To meet the conditions then existing the act of August 18, 1914, was passed, admitting foreign-built ships to American registry for the foreign trade, and the President was authorized whenever in his discretion the needs of our foreign commerce might require, to suspend by order, so far and for such length of time as he might deem desirable, the law prescribing that all the watch officers of vessels of the United States registered for the foreign trade should be citizens of the United States.

Under like conditions and in like manner and to like extent the President was authorized to suspend the provisions of the law requiring survey, inspection, and measurement by officers of the United States of foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry under the act.

The effects of the act were immediate and salutary. Large sums of money were invested by American citizens in vessel property under foreign flags.

WAR RISK BUREAU BIG HELP IN CRISIS.

The war in Europe developed another situation which demanded prompt and heroic treatment. Several belligerents issued decrees making provision for war risk insurance on their own merchant fleets and forbade their insurance companies from writing such insurance on enemy vessels or neutral ships.

To meet this situation and respond to the urgent demand of the great commercial and shipping interests of our country, an act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department was passed by the Congress, approved by the President, and became a law September 2, 1914.

The law has proven of the greatest benefit to our shipping in the foreign trade. Instead of being a burden on the Treasury, the net premiums received on war risk insurance policies issued exceed the losses by over \$2,000,000, as shown by the most recent Treasury statement on the subject.

Moreover, we can develop no true or effective American policy without ships of our own,—not ships of war, but ships of peace, carrying goods and carrying much more: creating friendships and rendering indispensable services to all interests on this side the water. They must move constantly back and forth between the Americas.—Woodrow Wilson.

WONDERFUL REVIVAL OF U. S. MERCHANT MARINE

Stars and Stripes Rapidly Regaining Premier Place on Sea Under Democratic Rule

AFTER 50 years of stagnation and decline, the American merchant marine has turned at last to face the dawn of restoration. Here is a significant list of infallible signs taken from statistics supplied by the Commissioner of Navigation, Department of Commerce:

Under the American Ship Registry Act of 1914, which removed the restriction as to the country of a ship's construction, there have been added to American registry in overseas commerce 183 vessels of 617,154 gross tons, which now carry American commerce under the American flag.

On July 1, 1916, American registry of ocean merchantmen covered, in round numbers, 2,100,000 vessel tons, as compared with 930,000 on the same date in 1912—an increase of 126 per cent. in four years' time.

On July 1, moreover, there were building in American shipyards steel merchantmen of 1,225,000 tons, as compared with 271,000 tons on the same date in 1912. In this case, the increase is over 350 per cent. Prophecies of timid Republican orators, that free American registry would injure American shipyards, are blown to the winds.

As against 1,225,000 steel tonnage under construction in American yards on July 1, the record construction of Germany was 920,000 in 1914; and while the United Kingdom has recorded a greater tonnage up to 1,400,000 tons, its construction last year was 650,919 tons.

NOW LEAD WORLD.

The United States in 1916 stands, for the first time in its history, the foremost shipbuilding country in the world.

There are reasons why America will retain this position. First, the United States is the greatest producer of steel in the world—manufacturing more than the United Kingdom and Germany combined—and the price of American ship plates is lower than in Great Britain, our chief competitor. Second, steel shipbuilding is closely analogous to two industries in which Americans have easily stood at the forefront for years, namely, steel bridge building and locomotive construction. We are now building steel ships for all comers, just as formerly we built bridges and locomotives for the world.

We have now to see how the story of the ports and cargoes, as contained in the commerce statistics of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the U. S. Department of Commerce, tallies with the record of navigation registry and the shipyards.

From 1901 to 1912, under Republican navigation and tariff laws, only 6 per cent. to 10 per cent. of the water borne exports of the United States was carried in American vessels.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, this percentage is increased to 13 per cent.

In 1912, American imports carried in American vessels amounted to 11 per cent. of the total. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, this percentage rises to 22 per cent.—or just double the 1912 record.

TOTAL AMERICAN VESSEL TONNAGE ENTERING OUR PORTS DURING THE FISCAL YEAR JUST CLOSED UNDER PRESIDENT WILSON REACHES 18,000,000, AGAINST 11,257,000 FOUR YEARS AGO UNDER PRESIDENT TAFT. THE VESSEL TONNAGE INCREASE IS THEREFORE 60 PER CENT., WHILE THE CARGO INCREASE OF THESE VESSELS IS 100 PER CENT.; WHICH INDICATES THAT, UNDER THE PRESENT COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY AND GREATER FREEDOM FROM RESTRICTIVE TARIFF AND NAVIGATION LAWS, THE VESSELS ARE GETTING HEAVIER CARGOES.

UNCLE SAM HELPS IT ALONG.

In addition to the above record merchant ship building will come the big naval program of the Government—the greatest program of American history. About half of the program for new battleships, battle cruisers, scout cruisers, destroyers and submarines, numbering some 150 vessels of more than 800,000 tons displacement, will be under construction as soon as practicable. British shipyards on June 30, 1914, were building 90 warships of 592,545 tons displacement.

AS SHOWING AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD'S SHIPBUILDING AT THIS TIME, LLOYD'S REGISTER GIVES THE TOTAL WORLD'S MERCHANT LAUNCHINGS IN THE CALENDAR YEAR 1915 AS 743 SHIPS OF 1,201,638 GROSS TONS—WHICH IS LESS TONNAGE THAN IS TO-DAY BUILDING IN AMERICAN YARDS ALONE.

And now is to come the additional stimulus of the Democratic Ship Purchase Act.

REAL AMERICANISM.

"If that is not Americanism, we do not know what is," commented the Indianapolis News, independent newspaper, on the Americanism plank in the Democratic platform. The News continued: "We should add that, though the convention spoke strongly for preparedness, it also spoke strongly for peace, and commended the President most warmly for having kept the nation out of war without, as it thought, surrendering any right or sacrificing the national honor."

"It is no mere random collection of vote catching tidbits," declared the Newark Evening News, referring to the platform.

TRADE COMMISSION SCORES BIG SUCCESS

New Agency of Square Deal In Business Is Created By Wilson Administration and Becomes Invaluable To Commerce

ONE of the principal new agencies of the Government provided by the Wilson Administration to facilitate the commerce and industry of the country is the Federal Trade Commission. Its creation was wholly due to the initiative and force of President Wilson in facing and working to a solution of the domestic problems that confronted and hampered business at the outset of his administration.

The Commission was intended to serve as the expert business agent of the Government to deal with business situations and disputes in a practical and prompt manner, after the fashion of business men. The aim was to clear the obstacles from the path of development for all legitimate trade enterprises, large and small. Protection of the "little fellow" from unfair aggression on the part of his larger and financially more powerful competitors was a prime object. A purpose not less important, however, was that of helping to open to the large enterprises opportunities of legitimate, healthy subsistence and expansion in both domestic and foreign fields.

The Commission faced a new and a large undertaking. It settled down to work, assumed big constructive tasks, and has made substantial progress towards achieving the results expected. There is no need to rely upon a partisan verdict. In the business world, the Commission has been accepted as a highly serviceable utility. An emphatic stamp of approval has been placed upon its work to date.

ABLE MEN APPOINTED.

President Wilson appointed to the Commission men expert in business, economic and legal knowledge, who constitute a non-partisan board. Its membership consists of Chairman Edward N. Hurley of Chicago, who amassed a large fortune through successful manufacturing operations and other business connections, and who was formerly President of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association; Joseph E. Davis of Wisconsin, attorney and former Commissioner of Corporations; William J. Harris of Atlanta, Ga., who made a distinctively successful and creditable record as Director of the United States Census, and who prior to that time had achieved reputation for business sagacity as the president of a large insurance company in the South; Will H. Parry, editor, successful business man and philanthropic

DEEDS OF THE TRADE COMMISSION

Investigation of this year's high gasoline prices, which probably will result in material decrease of these prices.

Inquiry into the recent advance in the price of print paper attributed to the European war by the manufacturers.

Investigation of the increase in the cost of anthracite coal to ascertain whether the increase is justified by last spring's increase of wages.

General investigation of the bituminous coal industry to determine the cause of its present demoralized condition and to suggest a constructive remedy.

Complete investigation of oil pipe-line transportation in the mid-continent oil field, which disclosed favoritism to large producers and which led to an improvement of conditions.

Inquiry into general accounting methods of manufacturers which brought out the fact that many enterprises in the United States lose heavily from the lack of proper cost accounting systems.

Active campaign for the inauguration of systems of cost accounting which will give to producers an exact idea of costs of production and proper prices, and to wholesale and retail merchants an exact idea of the cost of doing business which will lead to greater stability and prosperity in all lines of industry. The commission has mailed to manufacturers and retail merchants booklets concerning proper systems of cost accounting.

Inquiry into conditions confronting American exporters in foreign fields bringing out many important points, chiefly the need of American co-operation in seeking and keeping foreign markets. The Commission has submitted to Congress a recommendation that compels time selling agencies for foreign trade be removed from the operation of the anti-trust laws.

Probe of the methods of foreign manufacturers and exporters which resulted in the recommendation adopted by President Wilson and by Congress for anti-dumping legislation.

Submittal of a comprehensive report on tariff laws and customs administration in Brazil, Uruguay, Argentine, Chile, Bolivia and Peru in their relation to the development of American Foreign Trade, based on an extensive investigation in these countries.

General suggestions to trade as to the advisability of standardization of products and processes and also as to the proper and helpful function of Trade Associations.

The consideration of 250 complaints having to do with alleged "unfair competition."

The issuance of numerous informal rulings and the inauguration in some instances of formal proceedings to put an end to the use of practices which the Commission has reason to believe are "unfair."

citizen, who built the battleship "Nebraska" in the Seattle Yards, the first battleship built on the Pacific Coast for the United States Navy; George Rublee, successful New England lawyer interested in public work, and widely known for his legal contributions to legislative enactments.

HANDLES 250 COMPLAINTS.

During the existence of the Commission some 250 complaints charging unfair methods of competition in interstate commerce and violations of such sections of the Clayton Act, have been filed with it. The methods alleged to be unfair in these complaints, among others, include the following:

Predatory price cutting, inducing breach of contract, maintaining bogus independents, betrayal of trade secrets and confidential information, certain bidding up of prices of goods purchased, combinations and threats to cut off competitors' supplies, disparagement and confusion of goods, making certain guarantees against decline in price of goods sold, false and misleading advertising, fighting ships and fighting brands, misbranding of goods, instituting boycott and threats to boycott, institution of vexatious actions and advertising such suits, threat to institute such suits against competitors, influencing newspapers not to accept advertising of competitors and employing systems of espionage.

After surveying the field, the Committee found from a preliminary investigation that 200,000 corporations out of a total of 260,000 engaged in the manufacturing and mercantile business of the United States were eking out an existence; 100,000 of them did not earn a penny. Out of 60,000 successful corporations doing a business of \$100,000 a year, over 30,000 charged off no depreciation whatever. Only 10 per cent. of our manufacturers and merchants know the actual cost to manufacture and sell their products; 40 per cent. estimate what their costs are; and 50 per cent. have no method but price their goods arbitrarily. Most of the manufacturers and merchants who do not know what their goods cost are basing their selling price on what their competitors sell for, and with only this knowledge for a basis they are frequently cutting prices and demoralizing the industry in which they are engaged.

WHY FAILURES OCCUR.

There were over 22,000 business failures in the United States last year; more than 20,000 of them were small concerns. A large percentage of business is run at loose ends, haphazard, and without the proprietors really knowing at any time how they stand or whether they are making a profit or a loss.

The Commission recently mailed to every corporation in the United States a form containing a few simple questions pertaining to their industries. This information embraced the products which they manufacture, their annual sales, the capital invested, and other principal items, such as depreciation, and so forth. This data will be compiled by industries

and a summary of results sent to each company engaged in that particular line. This will give each and every man in the business an opportunity to know whether or not the industry he is engaged in is in a healthy condition. If an industry with large capital is showing no earning power, that industry either is not well managed or the production exceeds the demand. Knowledge of existing conditions will prevent others from entering the business or unprofitably investing additional capital where overproduction already exists. The industry in which conditions are unsatisfactory will receive particular attention, and the real causes of the conditions will be ascertained.

Under the direction of Chairman Hurley, and in cooperation with some of the leading accountants and trade associations, a campaign is being conducted for the inauguration of systems of accounting in various lines of industry which will give to producers an exact idea of their costs of production, and to merchants an exact idea of their cost of doing business, which will lead to greater prosperity and stability in all lines of industry through the elimination of prices—too low or too high—fixed without any accurate knowledge of costs.

The Commission has encouraged the formation of new trade associations, and urged the existing commercial, industrial and trading associations—approximately 6,500—to greater effort along the lines of improving systems of cost accounting, bettering process of manufacture, standardizing output, obtaining credit information and advancing the welfare of employees through the utilization of their knowledge of labor requirements.

FOREIGN TRADE INQUIRY.

The Commission has also instituted an inquiry in reference to a certain phase of foreign trade and is making a report and recommendations thereon to Congress. This work has had especially to do with clearing away obstacles in the way of developing new business with South America. The summary of such report has already been submitted, in which the Commission recommends the enactment of legislation which will remove the doubt as to the application of the antitrust laws to export trade. In making such recommendation the Commission says it does not believe that Congress intended by the antitrust laws to prevent Americans from cooperating in export trade for the purpose of competing effectively with foreigners, where such cooperation does not restrain trade within the United States, and where no attempt is made to prevent American competitors from securing their due share of the trade. At the same time it warns Congress that such legislation should be so framed as to securely safeguard free competitive conditions in domestic trade.

At every turn the things that the Progressive Republicans have proposed that were practicable, the Democrats either have done or are immediately proposing to do.—Woodrow Wilson.

TRADE COMMISSION AN IMPORTANT AID TO BUSINESS

Independent and Financial Press Indorse Trade Commission's Work

MEETS WAR PROBLEM.

FINANCIAL AMERICA, New York City, December 3, 1915:

The Federal Trade Commission is not an organization which sits in its office waiting for cases to be called to its attention, waiting to be asked to give aid or waiting to be told how to give it. The Commission is an assertive, constructive organization, taking the initiative in the work of finding where its aid is needed and of formulating practical methods of helpfulness.

A HELPING HAND.

GLOBE, South Bethlehem, Pa., April 8, 1915 (Ind.):

It is pleasing to note that we have one Government agency that is trying to do good by lending a helping hand instead of hindering by officious meddling. We refer to the Federal Trade Commission.

NEW BUSINESS METHODS.

WASHINGTON POST, March 14, 1916 (Ind.).

Under the old procedure, if some subordinate official of a large corporation adopted questionable methods, constituting "restraint of trade," the Government sued to dissolve the concern and scattered it into original units. Invariably the result of this procedure was higher overhead expenses for each of the units and higher prices to the public.

The new way, under the efficient system of the Federal Trade Commission, is to aid the small business man who is hurt, bring the larger corporation to a realization of its error and the injustice of it, and yet preserve efficiency.

JUSTIFIES ITSELF.

THE REPUBLICAN, Chester, Pa. (Rep.), January 6, 1916.

The Federal Trade Commission is fast justifying its creation. Its listing of all our National resources for war is a service for which the Nation will be peculiarly grateful at this time.

THE GREAT PHYSICIAN OF TRADE.

OREGONIAN, Portland, O., August 13, 1915 (Ind. R.).

The Federal Trade Commission is conducting a series of inquiries into business in the Pacific Northwest which has quieted many fears that were awakened by its creation. * * *

By listening to pleas on behalf of trade co-operation, the Commission has shown itself to have an open mind and not to be ready to condemn any trade organization merely because it is a combination.

CAUSING A SCARE.

AMERICAN WOOL AND COTTON REPORTER.

If the Federal Trade Commission can * * * make decisions which will prevent the sale of deceptive goods, it will cause such a scare among the distributors of textiles that it will prevent a large amount of deception merely through the fear of being brought to trial. There is a great opportunity for good being done to the textile trade in the developments which are occurring.

DEMOCRATIC PREPAREDNESS STOPPED 1914 WAR PANIC

Democratic Efficiency in 1914 Contrasted With Republican In- competence in 1907—Aldrich- Vreeland Act Made Workable

THE WILSON administration rescued the United States from the brink of panic when war spread like a flame over the continent of Europe. After hostilities began in August, 1914, foreign exchange was disorganized; credit facilities destroyed; and shipping practically suspended. The United States was commercially isolated.

Swift and vigorous action by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo prevented suspension of specie payments. The Administration met the situation with unhesitating decision and lightning rapidity. Its prompt measures and success in sustaining confidence and steadying the finances of the nation brought order out of chaos, and paved the way for the country's present security and prosperity. **IT GAVE SHARP CONTRAST WITH REPUBLICAN INCOMPETENCE AND INDECISION IN 1907, UNDER PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION, WHEN ALL OF THE REPUBLICAN MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT BROKE DOWN COMPLETELY AND CAUSED HARD TIMES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY FROM WHICH ONLY NOW, UNDER WOODROW WILSON, THE NATION HAS EMERGED.**

McADOO'S BOLD ACTION.

Immediately following the first declaration of war, the Secretary of the Treasury boldly announced that there was stored in the vaults of the Treasury \$500,000,000 of emergency national bank notes which could be issued, under the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, **AS AMENDED AND MADE WORKABLE BY THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT**, upon a moment's notice, to supply a circulating medium. This met the first pressing need of the situation.

Through Democratic foresight and statesmanship a provision was inserted in the Federal Reserve Act modifying the old Aldrich-Vreeland Emergency Currency Act to such an extent as to make it really workable and available for the business of the country and extending it from June 30, 1914, when it would have expired, to the 30th of June, 1915. **THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THE LAW, AS ORIGINALLY ENACTED BY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, CREATED SO MANY RESTRICTIONS AND IMPOSED SUCH PROHIBITIVE TAXES ON THE CIRCULATION PROVIDED BY THE ACT, THAT IT WAS**

PRACTICALLY INOPERATIVE. The changes reduced the taxes and modified the conditions so that the law became of practical use.

An amendment also was passed by Congress at Secretary McAdoo's request authorizing the Secretary also to suspend the provision of the Act which limited the actual amount of the currency which could be issued under it to \$500,000,000, and authorizing him to issue to any national bank circulating notes equal to 125 per cent. of its unimpaired capital and surplus.

In the first week of August, 1914, \$100,068,350 of emergency currency was issued under the Aldrich-Vreeland act as amended and made workable by the Democratic administration, and altogether \$386,444,215 of such currency was issued to all sections of the country needing it. All of this emergency issue has since been retired.

On the morning of the 3rd of August, 1914, the Sub-Treasury in New York City was in position to issue, and did issue, millions of dollars of emergency currency to the banks of New York. The Sub-Treasury was able to do this because a Democratic administration had the foresight and intelligence to ship from the City of Washington, by express, on the Saturday preceding the 3rd of August, 1914, or the day that war was declared, something like \$40,000,000 of emergency currency to meet the very crisis the bankers described, and this currency was issued to the New York banks UPON THE CONDITION THAT THEY WOULD PAY THE CURRENCY OVER THEIR COUNTERS UPON DEMAND, NOT ONLY OF THEIR DEPOSITORS, BUT OF THEIR CORRESPONDENTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, SO THAT A CURRENCY PANIC SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH BEFELL THE COUNTRY IN 1907 THROUGH REPUBLICAN STUPIDITY AND HESITATION WOULD NOT OCCUR AGAIN.

RESERVE ACT DID THE REST.

The Administration having bridged over the critical period, the Federal Reserve System went into operation on November 16, 1914, and completely restored commercial and banking confidence.

The direct assistance rendered by the Secretary of the Treasury to the banks and business interests of the country during the period immediately following the outbreak of the European war, called forth the following comment from the Commercial and Financial Chronicle of New York on August 15, 1914:

"It is to the credit of the authorities at Washington that in the present grave crisis in the world's history they have acted with commendable energy for the relief and protection of the country's monetary affairs. The vigor and promptness with which they set the machinery in motion for supplying emergency currency under the Aldrich-Vreeland law deserves all praise. They recognized from the first that the country's financial mechanism would be called upon to deal with a very unusual situation and one of extraordinary character. Quick action and quick comprehension were imperative, and

Messrs. McAdoo and Williams, by their skilful handling of affairs proved that they were equal to the task."

The above measures do not represent by any means all the steps taken by the Treasury Department to swing the country from threatened calamity into the road of the greatest prosperity of its history. Among other important steps taken was the establishment by legislation at the instance of the administration of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. This enabled the shipping interests to get insurance for their vessels and cargoes and is another evidence of the promptness with which the Government moved. Since that date policies have been written by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance aggregating \$135,542,189. The total number of policies written was 1526; total premiums received by the Bureau amount to \$2,868,103.32; the net losses to the Government have been \$712,518.15; leaving a surplus of premiums as a profit to the Treasury of \$1,925,251.50.

"GREATEST SPEAKER OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS"

ON MARCH 4, 1915, MR. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD of Alabama, who then was the Democratic floor leader of the House and now is U. S. Senator from Alabama, said in his valedictory address to the House:

"Mr. Speaker, two decades ago you and I started in public life together, almost at the same time. In leaving the House I cannot refrain at this time from giving public utterance to the feeling that I have for the Speaker.

"Your distinguished services to your country need no monument," Mr. Underwood went on, addressing the Speaker personally. "You have already achieved your place in the history of our government, and there is no man in the United States that more proudly and more willingly and more gladly gives acknowledgment to the distinguished services of the greatest Speaker of the American Congress."

Thereupon JAMES R. MANN, Republican leader, said:

"Mr. Speaker, I am about to perform what I think is the pleasantest duty that falls to my lot during the term of Congress. While it has not been usual to precede by any remarks the offering of the resolution which I shall offer, I do not feel quite willing to let the occasion go by without paying a very short tribute to the able and beloved Speaker of this House."

Mr. Mann then offered the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to:

"Resolved, That the cordial thanks of this House are presented to the Honorable Champ Clark, its able and distinguished Speaker, for the able, impartial, courteous and dignified manner in which he has presided over its deliberations and performed the arduous and important duties of the Speakership during the present time of Congress now about to end."

Later in the day, VICTOR MURDOCK, Progressive floor leader, in bidding farewell to his colleagues, said:

"The other day I had as a visitor in the gallery a lady from England, and she said: 'Who is the man who is sitting up front?' I said: 'He is the Speaker—Champ Clark.' 'Well,' she said: 'Do they uncle him?'

"We have not uncled him, but I think it can be said by every member in this body conscientiously that we all look upon him lovingly as a superb type of American citizenship."

CONSERVATION REFORMS EFFECTED BY DEMOCRATS

New and Important Laws and Progressive Executive Policy Put An End to Scandals and Open Up Alaska and the West

In the administration of old laws having to do with the conservation of natural resources constructive progress has been made by the Wilson Administration, and new laws have been enacted and put in force which help materially to safeguard the public interest. Still other legislation is well on its way to assured passage, which will go far towards completing a practical, progressive conservation programme.

The Ferris Bill, relating to water power on public lands, has passed the House. This bill provides adequate inducement to capital for the development of needed water power and contains stringent protective features. The investor is assured long and certain tenure, while the public secures regulation of rates, prevention of monopoly and the right to take over the entire plant at the end of the leasehold period.

PREVENTING WATER POWER GRABS.

There are thirty-five million potential horse power of hydro-electric energy in the United States. H. R. 406, the Ferris Bill, deals with 74.6 per cent. of the aggregate or all of the non-navigable streams of the country under the jurisdiction of the Interior Department.

A companion bill dealing with hydro-electric energy on the navigable streams of the country now under the jurisdiction of the War Department embraces 25.4 per cent. of the aggregate, passed the House in the Sixty-third Congress, and failed in the Senate. Another measure has passed both branches of Congress during the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress and is now in conference. The Administration is determined that this measure also shall be made a thorough conservation enactment. At the present writing the conferees are seeking to work out a bill that will be in the public interest and meet the President's progressive views on this subject.

GENERAL DEVELOPMENT.

Another important conservation measure which has passed the House is the general development bill to encourage under proper conditions and terms, phosphate, potash, oil and gas deposits in the public lands.

LAND DEVELOPMENT LEGISLATION.

GENERAL DEVELOPMENT BILL—Passed House January 15, 1916, by acclamation. Provides for the development of phosphate, potash, coal, oil and gas deposits.

ALASKAN RAILROAD ACT—Signed by President Wilson March 12, 1914. Provides for building the Alaskan Railway. Will open to development important agricultural and mining districts of Alaska.

SIX HUNDRED AND FORTY ACRE HOMESTEAD BILL—Passed House January 18, 1916, by acclamation. Opens 700,000,000 acres of grazing land suitable for stockraising in 640-acre homesteads.

ALASKAN COAL LEASING ACT—Signed by President Wilson October 20, 1914. Encourages development of the Bering, the Matanuska, and the Nanana coal fields of Alaska.

OREGON AND CALIFORNIA LAND GRANT ACT—Became law in June, 1916. Recovers to the Government \$50,000,000 worth of timber on 2,300,000

This bill protects the prospector while exploring the land, provided he is diligent; and rewards him if he locates a valuable deposit; but provides for development on conditions which prevent reckless waste and misuse. It provides for development under safeguards that prevent violation of the principles of conservation.

Go-ahead methods which yield nothing to special interests, yet permit the free play of legitimate enterprise within reasonable bounds, have characterized the direction of the Interior Department's affairs by President Wilson and Secretary Lane. In the Department of Agriculture, too, the Administration has enforced a similar policy of practical and efficient conservation. The great national forests, which represent the largest single conservation enterprise of the national government, have been continued under an unflinching federal control and have been administered for the largest service both to the general and the local public.

HOMESTEADERS' RENEWED FAITH.

Under the Wilson regime at the Interior Department, homesteaders have renewed faith in the government's fair treatment. Special agents are no longer prosecutors but co-operative workers with proper officials. Water power sites are no longer leased to private interests without proper safeguarding of the public interest. The government's permanent right in all remaining power sites is retained.

A consistent effort has been made both to open the public resources to development and to prevent frauds and monopolies. The new Reclamation Extension Act, originated and

passed under President Wilson, grants the rancher twenty years instead of ten in which to pay his share of the expense of reclaiming his land. Under legislation which has passed the House, homesteaders may secure 640 acres of land for stock raising, instead of being confined to 160 acres.

Encouragement has been given to the generation of electricity for lighting cities, traction purposes and domestic uses, by the regulated development of water power on the public lands. Since March 4, 1913, about 268,000 acres of land have been withdrawn from public entry for classification as coal lands, while during the same period more than fifteen and one-third million acres of land that had been withdrawn because it was suspected that they might be coal lands, have been restored to the public domain and opened to public entry. Coal land withdrawals have been reduced by this Administration from about sixty-five and one-half million acres to less than 46,000,000 acres.

PROGRESS IN SURVEYING.

Since March, 1913, material progress has been made in the work of locating and surveying portions of streams valuable for power. About 685,000 acres have been added to power-site reserves, and about 190,000 acres found not to be of sufficient value to warrant retention have been restored therefrom. The net increase in area of power-site reserves is, therefore, 495,000 acres. These public reserves now embrace an area of a little more than 2,350,000 acres and cover in whole or in part power sites with estimated maximum capacity of about 10,500,000 horsepower, or between 15 and 20 per cent. of the total water horsepower of the United States.

With reference to the use of these reserves for power purposes, since March, 1913, permits have been issued and grants made looking to the development of nearly a million horsepower of installed capacity and the construction of many hundred miles of transmission lines.

Every man, woman and child in America is dependent in some measure upon petroleum and natural gas.

The oil fields of the United States are estimated to contain only about 30 years' supply at our present rate of use.

HUSBANDING OIL SUPPLY.

Former administrations abandoned oil fields while a large part of the oil was still in the ground; allowed tremendous quantities of gas to waste into the air; let water into the oil sands, ruining areas that should have produced hundreds of thousands of barrels of oil. To the prevention of this wastefulness and ignorance the Interior Department has set its hand. It has gone into the oil fields and shown how wells might be drilled without allowing gas to escape into the air or water to enter the oil sands. It has enforced the observance of conservation principles on lands belonging to the Indians. It has advised how to store oil with a minimum loss. It has found methods for obtaining a larger proportion of the oil from the ground.

The American public will enjoy the comforts and con-

PROTECTING WATER POWER.

The Ferris Water Power Bill affects 74.6 per cent. of the country's water power. It contains these essentials of a proper water power policy:

THAT TITLE IN FEE NOT PASS OUT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES.

THAT LEASES EXTEND NOT LONGER THAN 50 YEARS.

THAT THERE BE DILIGENT AND PROMPT CONSTRUCTION OF PLANT OR FORFEITURE OF RIGHTS, THUS PREVENTING THE GRANTS FROM BECOMING MERE SPECULATIVE OPTIONS.

THAT ROYALTY BE PAID THE GOVERNMENT IN ALL CASES EXCEPT FOR MUNICIPALITIES WHO FURNISH CURRENT TO CONSUMERS WITHOUT PROFIT.

THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RESERVE FULL POWER TO FIX RATES FOR SERVICE, CAPITALIZATION, BOND ISSUES, ETC., IN INTERSTATE PROJECTS.

THAT FORFEITURE FOLLOWS PROOF OF CONSPIRACY TO PREVENT THE DEVELOPMENT OF POWER OR TO LIMIT OUTPUT.

The bill has passed the House and is on the Senate calendar under agreement for a vote.

veniences of oil and gas from its own fields for a longer period because of this work. And with the next session of Congress will come the enactment of the new leasing bill above referred to, under which two million acres of reserved oil land will be opened.

ALASKAN RICHES TAPPED.

In Alaska, a national treasure-house almost untouched because of its inaccessibility, the Administration secured the passage of an Act authorizing the construction of a Government railroad to tap the coal fields, the fertile farm lands of the interior, and the mines of gold, copper, and other precious minerals heretofore out of reach. This action has greatly stimulated the prosperity of Alaska and will contribute not only to the benefit and enrichment of that territory but of the country generally. The first leg of the Alaska Railroad is now completed and is carrying coal from the Matanuska coal fields to Cook's Inlet, some fifty miles.

The coal lands of Alaska were involved in charges of fraud and corruption but this Administration, after thorough investigations and hearings, has cleared the dockets of all fraudulent claims, leaving the best coal deposits of Alaska open to such disposition as will best serve the public interest.

The National Forests represent the Nation's largest single conservation undertaking. During the last three years this great constructive project has been carried forward with notable achievements, both in administration and in legislation.

USE BUT NOT MISUSE.

The National Forest enterprise is succeeding because the public properties are being used, at the same time as they are being protected, and because they are serving as a great factor in local development. With over 45,000 purchasers drawing upon the Forests each year for timber, with over ten million head of cattle, sheep, horses, goats, and swine utilizing the forest ranges, with a million and a half people using the forests each year for recreation, with 1,200 towns and cities drawing their water supplies from the protected forest areas, with water power sites being used under permit affecting upwards of a million horsepower, with about 40,000 settlers getting free their domestic wood supply, range for their milch cattle, and other privileges, it is clear that the National Forests are becoming very useful properties.

During the last three years great advance has been made in solving the vexatious problem of agricultural classification. In adjusting the permanent boundaries of the Forests some 7 million acres have been eliminated and restored to general entry. In addition, there have been each year made available for individual settlers, inside the National Forests, 200,000 to 300,000 acres of land, in individual tracts found suited for agricultural use. During this three-year period also nearly a million dollars have been expended in opening up isolated regions by roads. No less than 800 miles of new road in the mountain regions have been built and over 600 miles of old road made serviceable.

FORESTS' EARNINGS INCREASED.

BY EFFICIENT BUSINESS HANDLING, THE EARNINGS FROM THE NATIONAL FORESTS HAVE BEEN INCREASED FROM \$2,109,257 IN 1912 TO \$2,782,166 IN 1916.

Congress, under the leadership of the administration, has recognized the need of certain constructive legislation to carry out the great public purposes of the National Forests. In order to open up the resources of the Forests and make them serve in a higher degree in local community development, Congress has appropriated \$10,000,000 to be expended in ten years for road building in the Forests. This is one of the greatest pieces of constructive conservation legislation enacted since the Forests were created.

Republican Organ Applauds

NEW YORK TRIBUNE—"Mr. Wilson's supreme service is to mankind. He has maintained international law; he has upheld civilization; he has defended humanity."

IMPORTANT ANTI-TRUST SUITS BY THE WILSON ADMIN- ISTRATION SETTLED OR PENDING

A VERY brief summary of other of the larger trust actions, together with the outcome or present status under the Wilson Administration, follows:

ANTHRACITE COAL MONOPOLY CASES: Directed against the Lackawanna, Lehigh Valley and Reading Railroads. The first case has been decided in favor of the Government by the U. S. Supreme Court. Others are in course of preparation for argument in that Court.

SOUTHERN PACIFIC-CENTRAL PACIFIC MERGER: Government seeks to enforce divorcement of the two systems.

CORN PRODUCTS CASE: Lower Court has ordered the dissolution of this combination, which occupies a preponderant position in the large trade in starch, glucose and corn products generally. It is the first case referred to the Federal Trade Commission for the preparation of a decree.

AMERICAN CAN CASE: On appeal from decision of the District Court against its dissolution, although the Company was held to be organized as a combination in restraint of trade.

SHOE MACHINERY CASE: New proceeding brought under the Clayton Act.

INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER CASE: Decided in favor of the Government but pending on appeal in the U. S. Supreme Court.

BUTTER AND EGGS CASE: An action well known to the people in the Middle West which was decided in the Government's favor. The decree prohibits price fixing by the Elgin Board of Trade.

KELLOGG TOASTED CORN FLAKES COMPANY CASE: This company has been ordered by the courts to cease fixing and enforcing re-sale prices.

BITUMINOUS COAL CASE: Injunction granted dissolving this monopoly of the production and transportation of bituminous coal in the Ohio and West Virginia fields.

U. S. STEEL CASE: Decided against the Government in the lower court and pending on appeal in the Supreme Court.

CLOTHES WRINGER CASE: Combination of the principal manufacturers of clothes wringers for the purpose of price fixing ordered to cease this practice.

PLUMBERS' SUPPLIES CASES: Against a combination to restrain trade in plumbers' supplies. Won by the Government.

NATIONAL WHOLESALE JEWELERS' ASSOCIATION CASE: Enjoined from further carrying out a conspiracy to prevent manufacturers of jewelry from selling direct to retail dealers.

The officials of the Department recognize the desirability of the most accurate possible definition of the illegal transactions forbidden by the Sherman Law. When the HARVESTER, STEEL, CAN, LEHIGH VALLEY, READING, KODAK, and SHOE MACHINERY cases now being prepared by the Department for argument before the Supreme Court shall have been decided, the so-called area of debatable ground will have been greatly circumscribed.

IMPORTANT ADVANCES IN TRUST LAW ENFORCEMENT

Firm Course of Wilson Administration Clears Up Laws of Business and Substitutes Real For Sham Trust Dissolution

UNDER President Wilson, important progress has been made in enforcing and in bringing about a clearer understanding of the prohibitions of the anti-trust laws. By its work in clearing up these vital laws of business the Department of Justice in the last three and one-half years has performed a service that has materially aided legitimate industry and commerce.

Its firm course had led to the substitution of genuine dissolution of illegal monopolies in lieu of the ineffective dissolutions characterizing the Taft and Roosevelt administration. The decrees in the Union Pacific, Harvester, Telephone, New Haven, Reading and Kodak cases all involve real dissolution, and contrast vividly with the final result in the larger cases of the recent Republican administrations.

Indeed, this definite stand of the Department under Wilson has led to very general acceptance of the anti-trust laws and their prohibitions throughout the business world, so that now instead of protracted and expensive law suits being the rule, with consequent uncertainty and disturbance of important industries, it occurs frequently that the necessary changes of organization are made by mutual agreement between the law officers of the Government and the concerns affected. This is done through the famous "consent decrees," introduced by Attorneys-General McReynolds and Gregory. These short cuts speed law processes and aid business greatly.

A DEFINITE POLICY.

The underlying policy of the Department of Justice toward the enforcement of the anti-trust laws was recently stated by the Attorney General as follows:

The Sherman Act is enforced by the Department of Justice in the same manner and according to the same rules of policy as other statutes, with the same care, and with neither more nor less vigor. Plain or intentional violations are proceeded against vigorously, as under other statutes. When, as with all statutes, doubtful cases arise in which there is no intent to violate the law, they are dealt with just as similar cases under other statutes are dealt with; that is, with a view to enforcing strict compliance with the law, but without unnecessarily stigmatizing or unnecessarily burdening with litigation persons who have been honestly mistaken as to the law and who stand ready to rectify their mistake.

Under indifferent Republican administrations shrewd lawyers pointed out the paths to be trod by big interests to avoid the toils of the law, and from 1900 to 1912, under Republican rule, the monopolistic forces of this country grew to enormous proportions. Legitimate business was all but stifled.

The administrations of Roosevelt and Taft attempted an ineffectual campaign to curb the trusts. In the Northern Securities case under Roosevelt, and in the Standard Oil and Tobacco cases under Taft, **THE PARTS INTO WHICH THE UNLAWFUL MONOPOLIES WERE DIVIDED WERE LEFT IN THE CONTROL OF THE SAME PERSONS.** There was no real effectiveness in the so-called dissolutions. Competition was not restored.

REPUBLICANS CODDLED THE TRUSTS.

The law was brought into derision and almost into public contempt. The only effect of the so-called dissolutions was a change in the form of the monopoly. Competition in any real sense cannot exist between corporations controlled by the same persons. The law was thus practically nullified by reason of this defective manner of its enforcement.

The Democratic administration has brought about the first real dissolution of monopoly under the anti-trust law, after sixteen years of pretense by the Republicans. The present administration has insisted in every trust case, notably the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific Merger Case, the Telephone Case, the New Haven Case, the Harvester Case, the Kodak Case, and the Anthracite Coal Case, **THAT THE PARTS INTO WHICH THE UNLAWFUL COMBINATION OR MONOPOLY WAS OR MAY BE DIVIDED MUST BE SEPARATE AND DISTINCT IN OWNERSHIP AND MUST NOT BE LEFT IN CONTROL OF THE SAME SET OF MEN.**

For instance, in the decree of the court in the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific Merger Case, the stock of the Southern Pacific Company owned by the Union Pacific Company was placed in the hands of a trustee to be disposed of to purchasers upon their sworn statement that they did not own stock in the Union Pacific Company. This produced a complete divorcement of interests. Had such a policy been pursued by the Government in the Standard Oil, the Tobacco and the Powder Cases under the Republican administration, there would have been no grounds for the present widespread complaint of a continuance of monopoly in those industries.

NEW FREEDOM BUSINESS.

The insistence of the present administration that trusts and other combinations in restraint of trade shall be dissolved not merely in form but in reality, has cleared the atmosphere and brought the great business interests to a realization of the fact that the trade of the country must be liberated from monopolistic control. Business men throughout the country are showing a real desire to adjust their affairs to that view of the law.

It also remained for the Democratic administration to enact the further legislation necessary to clarify the situation in the business world. President Wilson early in his administration obtained the enactment by Congress of what is known as the Clayton Act, and also the law for the creation of the Federal Trade Commission.

SO EFFECTIVELY AND SMOOTHLY HAVE THESE GREAT CONSTRUCTIVE MEASURES ACCOMPLISHED THE REFORMS IN VIEW THAT THE CALAMITY HOWL ONCE DIRECTED AGAINST THESE CONSTRUCTIVE REFORMS HAS ENTIRELY SUBSIDED. IN THIS WE HAVE ONE OF THE LARGE CONTRIBUTING CAUSES OF THE NATION'S UNEXAMPLED PROSPERITY WHICH, AS IS SHOWN ELSEWHERE IN THIS TEXT-BOOK, EXTENDS FROM MAINE TO CALIFORNIA.

EFFECTIVE SHORT CUTS.

Among the important cases disposed of by "consent decree" have been the New Haven, Telephone and Thread cases. They contain striking examples of the advantages of this "policy of mutual reasonableness," as it is often called. This is illustrated by a comparison of the Union Pacific and the New Haven cases. Both were mergers of railroad corporations. The first case could be settled only by a law suit which was fought by the defendants to the end. The original petition of the government seeking dissolution was filed February 1, 1908. The case was decided by the Supreme Court in favor of the government on December 2, 1912, nearly five years later, and the final proceedings winding up the matter were not had until December 22, 1915. The expenses of litigation were very large, both to the government and to the railroad company. The court costs paid by the company amounted to over twenty thousand dollars, but that sum takes no account of the many thousands spent by the defendant corporation for counsel fees and for the other very large expenses incident to such a suit.

On the other hand, the New Haven case was settled within 90 days from the filing of the bill by the entering of a decree which was in every respect as effective a decree as if it had been entered after the case had been heard by the lower courts and by the Supreme Court. It differed from such a decree only in that it was entered with the consent of the defendants who agreed that it might be entered against them and were consulted as to its terms. In comparison with the Union Pacific case the cost to the parties was almost insignificant.

PRESIDENT WILSON drove invisible government out of Washington and uncovered the mightiest lobby that ever ramified a republic or had its rendezvous in its capital. He drove the lobbyist out; he turned the American people in.—From speech of Ollie M. James at St. Louis Convention.

WONDERFUL EXPANSION

Deadly Parallel Presents the Case of Wilson *vs.* Taft in Foreign Commerce

ON MARCH 4, 1913.

Annual foreign trade,
\$3,857,587,343.*

Exports, \$2,204,322,409.*

Our net foreign indebt-
edness, funded and float-
ing, \$6,500,000,000.

Our loans to foreign
countries were practically
nothing.

Imports of manufactured
goods amounted to \$360,-
018,963,* or 21.78 per cent.
of our total imports.

Exports of manufactured
goods ready for consump-
tion amounted to \$672,268,-
163,* or 30.98 per cent. of
all our domestic exports.

Total amount of special
appropriations for promo-
tion of our foreign trade,
\$60,000.*

Field staff engaged in
promoting foreign trade
numbered 11.

No commercial attaches.

No appropriation for
commercial attaches.

No district or branch of-
fices in the United States
for promoting foreign
trade.

Only 9 agents gathering
information about foreign
markets for American
products.

Only 2,145 trade oppor-
tunities issued for the ben-
efit of American manufac-
turers.

ON AUGUST 4, 1916.

Annual foreign trade,
\$6,530,000,000.†

Exports, \$4,330,000,000.†

Our net foreign in-
debtedness reduced by
half.

Our loans to foreign
countries were one and
one-fourth billion dollars.

Our imports of manufac-
tured goods amounted to
\$315,000,000,† or 14.30 per
cent. of our total imports.

Our exports of manufac-
tured goods ready for con-
sumption amounted to \$2,-
000,000,000,† or 46.73 per
cent. of all our domestic
exports.

Total amount of special
appropriations for promo-
tion of our foreign trade,
\$252,000.†

Field staff engaged in
promoting foreign trade
numbered 61.

Ten commercial at-
taches.

An appropriation of
\$100,000 for commercial
attaches.

Eight district offices and
six co-operating branch of-
fices for promoting Amer-
ican trade.

Twenty agents gathering
information about foreign
markets for American pro-
ducts.

There were 4,300 trade
opportunities issued, each
giving a specific chance to
market American goods
abroad.

*Fiscal year, 1912. †Fiscal year, 1916.

FOREIGN TRADE RECORD IS OVER SIX BILLIONS

Change of National Administration Will Menace Overseas Business and Risk Loss of Prosperity— Facts as to Munitions Sales

FROM March 4, 1913, to date, this country has enjoyed an increase of its foreign trade far in excess of former increases of this or any other nation during a similar period.

Our total foreign trade for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, was \$3,857,587,343; in the fiscal year 1913 it increased to \$4,278,892,383, but fell off slightly in 1914, when it amounted to \$4,258,504,805. There was a slight increase during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, when the total trade was \$4,442,759,080; but in the fiscal year 1916 it leaped to \$6,530,000,000.

The European War created an opportunity to secure this enormous business but practical legislation and efficient administrative action aided in securing it. Authorities agree that much of the business can be retained by the enterprise of our business men if the present co-operation by the Government is continued, and if radical changes of policy such as would be involved in a Republican tariff revision are not adopted.

This article tells the important story of the growth of our overseas business, AND DEMONSTRATES THAT A CHANGE OF NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION AT THE FLOOD TIDE OF OUR FOREIGN SUCCESSES WOULD MENACE NOT ONLY EXPORT BUSINESS BUT THE PROSPERITY OF THE COUNTRY.

A STUPENDOUS PROPOSITION.

Six and one-half billion dollars worth of foreign trade is a remarkable and stupendous thing, and has contributed to the present unbounded prosperity of the United States.

It was in 1872 that our foreign trade first exceeded one billion dollars; in 1900 it passed the two billion dollar mark; in 1907 it crossed the three billion dollar line; in 1913 it was slightly above four billion dollars. AND NOW WITHIN THREE SHORT YEARS THE LEVEL HAS EXTENDED TO WELL OVER SIX BILLION DOLLARS—AN INCREASE OF OVER FIFTY PER CENT. SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION.

Exports have shown the same tremendous upward tendency. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, our exports amounted to \$2,204,322,409. They increased in the fiscal year

Professor Walter Troeltsch, of Marburg University, Germany, says in a technical periodical published in Essen: "We shall have to face a long period of diminished purchasing power, combined with higher costs of production, owing to dearer raw materials, and also higher taxes and higher wages."

1913 to \$2,465,884,149; fell off in 1914 to \$2,364,579,148; increased again in 1915 to \$2,768,589,340; and jumped in the fiscal year 1916 to \$4,330,000,000. But even more important than the growth in the volume of our exports has been the change in their essential character.

Prior to March 4, 1913, our exports consisted largely of raw materials; in fact, 33 per cent. of our exports were raw materials in unmanufactured state. For the last fiscal year the proportion of raw and crude products in our exports is only 13 per cent. Meanwhile the proportion of finished manufactured goods has increased from 31 to 47 per cent. In actual figures, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, we exported \$672,268,163 of finished manufactured goods and \$723,008,839 in crude materials. In 1916 we exported \$2,000,000,000 of finished manufactured goods and \$536,000,000 raw materials.

IMPORTS OF RAW MATERIALS.

No less remarkable is the great increase in our imports of raw materials. This was aided by the Underwood Tariff, which placed raw materials on the free list. In 1912 22 per cent. of our imports consisted of manufactured articles ready for consumption. During the last fiscal year our imports of manufactured goods ready for consumption amounted to 14 per cent. of the total imports. On the other hand, in 1912 the imports of raw materials amount to 34 per cent, while in 1916 they amounted to 43 per cent of the total. THIS MEANS THAT INSTEAD OF IMPORTING MANUFACTURED GOODS READY FOR CONSUMPTION, WE ARE NOW IMPORTING THE RAW MATERIALS FROM WHICH THOSE GOODS ARE MANUFACTURED; AND INSTEAD OF PAYING FOR FOREIGN LABOR AND FOR FOREIGN PROFITS WE ARE PUTTING THAT MONEY INTO THE POCKETS OF OUR OWN LABORING MEN AND ARE PAYING PROFITS TO OUR OWN PEOPLE.

These changes in the three short years since the beginning of the present administration are of great significance in the economic history of this country; they mark the shifting of the balance of economic power in the world from Europe to the United States.

MUNITIONS TRADE EXAGGERATED.

IT IS SOMETIMES STATED THAT THIS INCREASE IN OUR TRADE IS DUE ENTIRELY TO MUNITIONS

OF WAR. BUT THIS STATEMENT IS FAR FROM THE ACTUAL FACTS. A large portion of our gain in foreign trade has been with countries outside the war zone.

We may divide all our exports into three groups:

(1) Exports of actual munitions of war, including ammunition, cartridges, loaded projectiles, guns, rifles, etc.

(2) Exports of what might be called secondary army supplies, including horses and mules; automobile trucks and aeroplanes; horseshoes and barbed wire; men's shoes; harness and saddles; wearing apparel and manufactures of brass, copper, lead and zinc.

(3) Exports of other products that would be sold even in times of peace, including agricultural, electrical and other machinery; grains and flour; chemicals; cloths, wearing apparel and other manufactures of cotton; fish, fruits and meats; bars, billets, rails, sheets, structural and other iron and steel; leather; mineral and vegetable oils; paper; tobacco; lumber and other manufactures of wood, and the various other agricultural, mining and manufacturing products which enter into our exports under normal conditions.

The largest percentage of increase in our exports of these three groups occurred in the actual munitions of war. A comparison, however, of our exports of this group since the war with a period prior to the war based solely on the percentage of increase is fallacious for the reason that the exports in normal times are insignificant.

IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND, TOO, THAT THE ARTICLES CLASSED AS SECONDARY ARMY SUPPLIES ARE EXPORTED IN TIMES OF PEACE AND THAT, IN FACT, A LARGE PORTION OF THEM WOULD BE EXPORTED, WAR OR NO WAR.

WONDERFUL TRADE BALANCE.

Another significant change has taken place. Heretofore the United States has never enjoyed a really favorable "balance of trade." True, exports have for a number of years exceeded imports by many millions of dollars.

Since 1900, for example, our excess of exports over imports has amounted to as much as \$1,094,000,000 in 1915, and has declined to as low as \$188,000,000 in 1910. But there are many factors in the real balance of trade between the United States and other foreign nations that have not been taken into account.

The United States has for years borrowed money from Europe, and at the beginning of the Wilson administration owed Europe not less than \$6,500,000,000, on which we paid an annual interest of not less than \$300,000,000. Our tourists traveling in foreign countries spent probably not less than \$250,000,000 each year. Foreigners resident in the United States sent back to Europe probably not less than \$150,000,000 annually. Shippers paid to foreign-owned steamship lines not less than \$50,000,000 each year. The sum total of these expenditures was approximately \$750,000,000 annually. At no time, therefore, since 1900, and certainly not before that

until 1915, have we ever had a sufficient "balance of trade" to fully offset this great indebtedness and the large interest payments on it.

Conditions have changed under the Wilson administration. In three years we have taken up \$1,500,000,000 of American securities held abroad, paid off \$500,000,000 of floating debt, and loaned to foreign countries \$1,250,000,000—thereby reducing our net debt to the world by the vast total of \$3,250,000,000—which is without precedent in history. Not only has the debt been thus reduced, but our payments abroad have heavily shrunk. Even our foreign population, on account of the difficulties in sending money abroad, have cut off their remittances. Along with the decrease in our indebtedness to Europe has of course come a falling off in the interest charges. Our payments to Europe probably do not amount to more than half the amount paid each year prior to the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson.

On the other hand, instead of borrowing money from Europe, we have actually made loans to European nations and other nations on the American Continent.

Our loans to foreign countries now (Aug. 1, 1916), aggregate approximately \$1,250,000,000.

BUY HEAVILY ABROAD.

In addition, American investors have bought in foreign markets at favorable prices old Government issues to the extent of nearly \$50,000,000.

Our position in the world's markets has, therefore, completely changed. We have assumed a position of commanding importance and our commerce exceeds that of any other country of the world. As a matter of fact our commerce at present is as great as that of England and France combined. In the world of financial affairs we have also taken the leading role. We have discharged a large share of our indebtedness to foreign countries and are now lending money instead of borrowing it.

Foreign trade is a stabilizer. It would be relatively impossible for the United States to withstand the ups and downs of trade if it did not have a large foreign trade with which to balance the wheel of business. If a concern in the United States manufacturing agricultural machinery does a purely domestic trade, his business rises and falls with the crop conditions in this country. If, however, he also sells in Canada, Argentina, Russia, India and Australia in all of which it is quite improbable for bad crops to occur at the same time, he has a good business in some countries to offset the slackness at home or in other foreign fields. What is true of the manufacturer is true of the dealer in raw materials, such as iron, steel, lumber, cement, and the great food products, such as corn, wheat, meat and the staples like cotton and tobacco. The wider the markets the greater the variation in conditions and the more stable the business of the country supplying these markets. If we are to have greater stability in business conditions in the United States, it is absolutely necessary that we have wider markets, which means a larger foreign trade.

The Democratic Administration of Woodrow Wilson has recognized for the first time in the history of the United States the impossibility both of expecting to get foreign trade and of setting up a high tariff wall of the extreme type favored by a majority of Republicans. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANY MAN, BUSINESS MAN, MANUFACTURER, OR FARMER, TO BELIEVE IN HIGH PROTECTION OF THE REPUBLICAN BRAND AND AT THE SAME TIME TO BELIEVE IN FOREIGN TRADE. THE MAN WHO BELIEVES IN REPUBLICAN HIGH PROTECTION IN EFFECT INDICATES HIS WILLINGNESS OR HIS DESIRE TO DO AWAY WITH FOREIGN TRADE, AND THE MAN WHO ANNOUNCES HIS INTENTION TO GET FOREIGN TRADE AVOWS THAT HE DOES NOT NEED PROTECTION.

OLD TARIFFS HINDERED BUSINESS.

Another phase of the tariff situation should not be overlooked by those who advocate a high protective tariff wall. In effect, the country that establishes a high tariff wall says to other countries, "This is the way we believe that the country should develop; if you are wise you will go and do likewise." THEREFORE, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT WE FIND THE COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA FOLLOWING OUR OWN EXAMPLE AND ERECTING THE HIGH TARIFF WALLS THAT ARE NOW THE CHIEF OBSTACLE TO OUR GETTING TRADE IN SOUTH AMERICA.

One of the most important achievements of the present Democratic Administration in its efforts to promote trade was the establishment and development of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. There had long been an appropriation for promoting commerce, but prior to the Wilson Administration the amount was so small that it was impossible to do much effective or practical work. This appropriation is now nearly four times the amount used in 1909 and more than double the amount ever granted by a Republican Administration.

TRADE "DIPLOMATS" NOW HELP.

Since the beginning of this Administration, the number of commercial agents, skilled technical investigators in foreign countries, has been greatly increased. Eight branches and six co-operative branch offices have been established in the United States for developing foreign trade. Ten commercial attaches have been sent to the important commercial foreign capitals of the world in London, Paris, The Hague, Petrograd, Melbourne, Peking, Rio de Janeiro, Lima, Buenos Aires and Santiago. This work of trade promotion has been increased tenfold over what it was during the previous administration. Its work has increased in extent, volume and in practicability. It aims to give the manufacturer expert service and expert information with reference to foreign trade. It has succeeded in building up a wide and enviable reputation for its business-like methods and for the efficiency of its work.

Constructive legislation by the Wilson Administration has greatly facilitated the development of our foreign trade. The first and most important legislation bearing on foreign trade was the Federal Reserve Act, which created adequate machinery for financing foreign business. Payments in international trade need no longer be made through London, for there has been established in New York an "acceptance" market which has proved of incalculable value in building up our trade and enabling our manufacturers to finance their foreign business. This legislation also permitted National Banks to open branches in foreign countries and through them to give our exporters a service that had never before been possible.

LAWS AND SHIPPING.

The shipbuilding industry and merchant shipping have been hampered in the past by restrictions imposed by Republican Administrations. Some of these have been removed. Foreign-built vessels are permitted to register and fly the American flag, and our merchant marine has increased during the last two years more than in the preceding fifty. The ship purchase measure, urged by the administration and opposed by the Republican members of Congress, provides legislation that will enable the United States to go still further in the development of a merchant marine. It aims to regulate ocean freight rates, to require foreign vessels to give as favorable rates to American as to European ships; in short, to regulate a business now wholly unregulated, to the immense disadvantage of the United States.

Other legislation designed to assist American exporters includes the bill permitting American manufacturers to combine in their foreign trade work so that they may meet on equal terms their foreign competitors who have long been permitted to do this, and the proposed American trademark law which will make it possible for American goods to carry a distinctive American mark that will distinguish them in all countries of the world and guarantee their American origin.

A vital question, and one that is agitating many business men at the present time, is whether or not we will be able to hold the increased trade we have obtained since the beginning of the European war, or whether we will lose it to our foreign competitors.

LIKELY TO HOLD NEW TRADE.

Barring a change from the present active and efficient co-operation of the Government in this field, there is every reason to believe that American exporters will hold the bulk of their new business in other than war munitions. Europe will be loaded with war debts, and these will mean heavy taxes on business and industry. Practically all of the elements entering into cost of production will be raised; the good-will of their foreign business is already practically lost to many of the European belligerent nations, and the labor-supervis-

ing force in Europe will be considerably reduced and its efficiency will be considerably impaired.

The men who are fighting in the armies of Europe are not the unemployed or the unemployable; they are the very flower of the industrial and commercial enterprises. Many of these men will not return to their places in the factories or at the bench. Many of those who do return will be maimed and diseased, and most of them will have lost the work spirit that is so characteristic of and such a large asset to the European worker.

FOREIGN PRICES WILL BE HIGH.

During the war capital has been withdrawn from productive uses, all capital expenditures and capital investments have been reduced in efficiency, plants need renewals and repairs which have not been made, the demand for capital will be large at the end of the war, and the stock of it on hand will be small and expensive. The war is not yet over, and these effects will be cumulative as long as the war lasts. Interest rates will therefore be high.

The elements entering into cost of production will all be raised, and it is claimed that prices can not even for a short period be substantially lower than the cost of production. On these principles it is argued that prices will be high, higher than ever before in Europe, and will more nearly approximate the level of prices in the United States. European nations will not be able to export or to supply their own markets at prices as much below ours as they were before the war. We will be able therefore to hold a very large proportion of the new trade we have obtained during the progress of the war.

It is absurd to believe that European nations will be able to do more after the war than they did before the war. They will be weaker, not stronger. Domestic wants will have to be filled before the European nations can seriously undertake foreign trade. No matter how much they may want foreign trade, no matter how much they may need it, they will first have to set their own houses in order.

We can successfully compete with any other nation in the world in any market, but we can do so only when we bring our present industrial equipment and our distributing machinery to the highest point of efficiency. The war will be followed by a period of intense competition, and the most efficient producers and distributors will win. We cannot waste with one hand and win with the other. We must use science and research in business as our rivals do. We can no longer afford a gospel of industrial fear in this country. We can compete if we will to compete and shall be both stronger and safer for the effort. It is a principal part of the programme of President Wilson to continue the development of the Government auxiliaries to foreign trade expansion so that America may keep the place in foreign trade that it now has. A change of administration inevitably would cut short and cripple the very practical work to this end now under way.

WILL YOU VOTE FOR PROSPERITY'S ENEMIES?

Calamity Howlers of 1912 and 1914 Now Join in Chorus of Knocks in Hope of Destroying American Good Times

The Republican leaders predicted suffering and panic throughout the land in 1912—there was none.

The Republican leaders prophesied ruin and disaster in 1914—and it didn't happen.

Today the Republican leaders belittle and seek to weaken confidence in the present unexampled prosperity. They say it is spotty, temporary, artificial, abnormal, perverting and insecure.

This Text-Book teems with evidence that the general business and industrial outlook is of the best. American prosperity is general, well distributed, deserved and, in so far as mortal eye can pierce the future, secure.

Are not the Republican leaders—Hughes, Mann, Cannon, Harding and the rest—and lesser lights therefore proven by the record to be the ENEMIES OF PROSPERITY?

CASSANDRAISTIC CHORUS.

Says Charles Evans Hughes in 1916: "When we contemplate industrial and commercial conditions, we see that we are living in a fool's paradise."

Said Republican Floor Leader James R. Mann in the House of Representatives August 2, 1912: "They (Democratic measures) would add to wages paid abroad; would add to the idle labor here; * * * would mean strikes and riots and starvation and hell for the wage-earner and his family, destruction for the manufacturer, and damnation for the home industry."

Says Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio in his Republican keynote speech at Chicago: "No one disputes a temporary prosperity in our land today. But it is sectional in its factory aspect, abnormal in its fevered rush, fictitious in its essentials and perverting in its tendency."

Said former Republican Speaker Joseph G. Cannon in the House December 15, 1913: "President Wilson reversed the lever and the Democratic Congress followed his directions and reversed the revenue policy of the government. This reversal has slackened business so that in many places it has almost stopped," etc.

They are now, as then, prophets of evil.

REPUBLICAN RECORD OF MISRULE AND BETRAYAL

During Three Administrations Privilege and Bossism Control at Washington—Complete Failure to Reform Conditions.

WHO CAN doubt but that the return to power of the Republican party this autumn will mean anything but a revival of the abuses which prevailed when, in the elections of 1910 and 1913, the Democrats threw out of office the Old Guard which had been voted discredited by overwhelming majorities? The election of Mr. Hughes means nothing if it does not mean the restoration of the Taft-Roosevelt-Penrose, Smoot-Crane-Mann-Cannon stripe of politician.

Roosevelt chose Taft. Taft, according to Roosevelt, betrayed the people, and to-day, meeting under the flimsy banner of reunion, these same leaders, Taft and Roosevelt, are appealing to the same people to vote for Hughes, who pleases them both—as he pleases the interests which traditionally finance and fatten the Republican party.

The record of the Republican party has not grown better with age. There is no reason to suppose that it will not be repeated with the assumption again of office by the Republicans, chastened though some of them may profess to be by enforced retirement to private life and pleased though they are with carping criticism of the constructive achievements of the Administration of Woodrow Wilson.

Let it be remembered that the Republican downfall began with the passage of the Payne-Aldrich tariff law, a revision upward of the tariff, instead of the promised revision downward.

“THE CITADEL OF PROTECTION.”

The increases chiefly affected the raw material, the partly finished and the finished products most essential to the people—clothing, household utensils and even foods. Take the famous Schedule K, the woolen schedule, which Aldrich called “the citadel of protection.” Nearly every man, woman and child in the United States uses wool in some form. Schedule K of the Dingley law contained such high rates that the manufacturers were enabled to substitute shoddy and other cheap material for wool, for which, however, the consumers paid the same prices. Upon Schedule K especially the country expected downward tariff revision.

This excerpt from the great speech on the wool schedule by the late Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver, of Iowa, a Republican, tells what was done:

"I desire now to speak of some of the morbid and abnormal influences which have gone out from Schedule K to mitigate the tariff system of the United States. The high rates imposed throughout the schedule have been peculiarly attractive to laborers in other departments of the textile vineyard, and it is easy to trace the movements of greed in more than one schedule framed to protect these industries. Manufacturers in other textile departments have been persistent in their efforts to get the advantage of the rates on woolen goods. Makers of silks, of cottons and of furs, not satisfied with their own rates, have sought shelter among the slippery provisions of the wool tariff. We have already seen how hospitably the manufacturers of cotton have been received. It takes only a slight investigation of the silk schedules to see how easily that product puts itself into partnership with the enterprise.

BOGUS DUTIES.

"The manufacturers of fur garments, not content to gratefully accept the modest 35 per cent. accorded them by the present law, have been able to secure here the increase of their rate to 50 per cent., provided they contain no wool. I do not know whether they are entitled to that or not, but I do know that they ought not to be allowed on account of the presence of the wool in the lining or elsewhere in the garment to pass over to the wool schedule where, in addition to the 60 per cent. ad valorem, they will enjoy a bogus compensatory of 44 cents per pound on the weight of the whole garment.

"The root of this abuse lies in Schedule K, where all sorts of manufactures, whether cloths or clothings or anything else containing a trace of wool, must be weighed up under its benign provisions. If it operated merely to affix excessive rates to articles not entitled to them, it would be bad enough; but it operates also to bring our protective tariff system into ridicule and contempt. Why should a fur coat, with a cotton lining or no lining at all, be assessed 50 per cent. ad valorem, while with \$2 worth of wool lining it takes 44 cents per pound and 60 per cent. ad valorem? But that is not an extreme case. I spoke the other day of a cotton blanket, with a fringe of wool to prevent unravelling, received hospitably at the Custom House and solemnly charged up with the specific compensatory calculated a generation ago for woolen goods."

As for cotton, on not a single one of the 95 all-cotton samples of fabric taken as the basis of the Taft Tariff Board's investigations of the cotton schedule was there an actual reduction of the tariff by the Payne-Aldrich law.

TAFT STOOD FOR IT.

And Taft "stood for it." In his Winona speech, September 20, 1910, he said:

"When it came to the question of reducing the duty at this hearing in this tariff bill on wool, Mr. Payne in the House, and Mr. Aldrich in the Senate, found that in the Republican party the interests of the wool-growers in the far West and the interests of the woolen (worsted) manufacturers in the East and in other States, reflected through their representatives in Congress, was sufficiently strong to defeat any attempt to change the woolen tariff and that had it been attempted it would have beaten the bill reported from either committee."

16 YEARS OF INCOMPETENCE

DURING sixteen years of uninterrupted control of Congress and the Presidency, the Republicans **FAILED—**

TO prepare the nation for defense.

TO reform a currency system that caused panic after panic and placed the power over the financial affairs of the nation in the hands of a few Wall Street millionaires.

TO enact an income tax law.

TO enforce the anti-trust laws effectively.

TO strike by new legislation, as has been done by the Clayton act, at interlocking directorates, holding companies and other trust abuses not covered by the Sherman Act.

TO adopt and apply an effective conservation policy.

TO eliminate graft, special privilege, and monopoly-giving duties from the tariff law.

TO root out the old system by which the Bosses and the Lobby ruled the House and Senate.

TO grant labor its just due as provided in the "Magna Charta" and many other progressive labor laws enacted by the Democrats.

TO enact a Rural Credits Law and to encourage agricultural development by such enactments as the Good Roads Act, the Agricultural Extension Act, the Cotton Futures Act, the Grain Grades and Warehouse Act, which have recently become law under Woodrow Wilson.

ETC, etc., etc.!!!

Such was tariff revision under Republican rule—a great hoax and a national scandal. Other chapters from the history of the Taft Administration match it well.

THE BALLINGER-PINCHOT CASE.

Soon after the inauguration of President Taft, charges were made by Gifford Pinchot, then chief forester of the United States, and by Louis R. Glavis, the special agent in charge of the Seattle land office, that Richard A. Ballinger, who had entered Taft's Cabinet as Secretary of the Interior March 4, 1909, was proposing to patent a group of coal claims in the Katalla district in Alaska, known as the Cunningham claims. These claims, alleged to be fraudulent, comprised 5,280 acres of the richest coal lands in Alaska, and involved coal resources having an estimated value of from \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000. If patented, this vast property, under an

agreement between the Cunningham claimants and Wall Street financiers, was to fall into the hands of the Morgan-Guggenheim interests.

In the fall of 1909 the Democrats of the House united with the progressive Republicans and forced an investigation by a joint committee of the House and Senate. A hard fight occurred in the House over the personnel of this committee; but the Aldrich machine was still supreme in the Senate, and hence the reactionary Republicans succeeded in getting control of the committee by a majority of one. It therefore followed that the majority fulfilled all predictions by exonerating Secretary Ballinger. But the presence on the committee of such Democratic members as Senator (then Representative) Ollie James, of Kentucky; Senator Fletcher, of Florida; Representative Graham, of Illinois, and the late Representative Madison, a progressive Republican from Kansas, prevented the stifling of material evidence and resulted in what was commonly conceded to be a great popular verdict against Ballinger.

THE FIGHT ON DR. WILEY.

Much more could be written—the story of the obstacles thrown in the path of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley's efforts to enforce the pure food and drug act, for instance. But the complete subservience to privilege of the controlling element in the Republican party has been shown.

Nor was Taft solely responsible. He reaped as the McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations had sown. In his famous Philadelphia speech, delivered February 12, 1912, Senator Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin, cited these startling figures:

"Between January 1, 1898, and January 1, 1900, 149 trusts were formed to suppress competition and control prices. These combinations were capitalized for \$3,000,-784,000.

"From January 1, 1900, to January 1, 1904, 8,664 great plants were combined into trusts, with a total capitalization of \$20,379,162,400.

"From January 1, 1904, to January 1, 1908, trust consolidation made mighty strides, and the total capitalization reached the astounding sum of \$31,672,160,754."

A large percentage of this capitalization was the "capitalization of earning power," and this earning power in large degree depended upon the tariff. Officials, attorneys or agents of the principal of these trusts held Republican seats in the Senate and House and upon the Republican National Committee.

ROOSEVELT DODGED TARIFF ISSUE.

During the latter half of the last four years of Republican rule, the Republicans, President Taft co-operating with the shattered Aldrich machine in the Senate, were chiefly active in preventing final enactment of the progressive legislation which originated in the House. When Aldrich's broken power did not suffice, a presidential veto did the business. One after another, measures regulating the issuance of injunctions, providing an eight-hour day in all Government contracts involving the employment of labor, giving trial by jury

in contempt cases, granting the public protection against shipping monopolies, proposing election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, revising the tariff and introducing the income tax into the revenue system—these and many others were put through the House only to be vetoed by the President or pigeonholed in the Senate.

Many of the great reforms which, by virtue of the 1912 election, are now accomplished facts, were promised both by Roosevelt and by Taft. Roosevelt especially was lavish with promises. Yet, in progressive deeds, the two Roosevelt Administrations were even less productive than the Taft Administration.

And the same crowd are moving heaven and earth and Wall Street to get back in now.

NEED OF A TARIFF BOARD.

THERE is another thing about which I have changed my mind. A year ago I was not in favor of a tariff board, and I will tell you why. Then the only purpose of a tariff board was to keep alive an unprofitable controversy. If you set up any board of inquiry whose purpose it is to keep business disturbed and to make it always an open question what you are going to do about the public policy of the Government, I am opposed to it; and the very men who were dinning it into our ears that what business wanted was to be let alone were, many of them, men who were insisting that we should stir up a controversy which meant that we could not let business alone. There is a great deal more opinion vocal in this world than is consistent with logic. But the circumstances of the present time are these: There is going on in the world under our eyes an economic revolution. No man understands that revolution; no man has the elements of it clearly in his mind. No part of the business of legislation with regard to international trade can be undertaken until we do understand it; and members of Congress are too busy, their duties are too multifarious and distracting to make it possible within a sufficiently short space of time for them to master the change that is coming.

I hear a great many things predicted about the end of the war, but I do not know what is going to happen at the end of the war; and neither do you. * * * There is so much to understand that we have not the data to comprehend that I for one would not dare, so far as my advice is concerned, to leave the Government without the adequate means of inquiry.—From President Wilson's Address at Dinner of Railway Business Association, New York, January 27, 1916.

THE INCOME TAX AMENDMENT.

By William Jennings Bryan.

THE taxation of incomes is possible because of an amendment to the Federal Constitution effective Feb. 25, 1913, specifically authorizing such a tax, and the Democratic party deserves a large part of the credit for securing the adoption of this amendment. The revenue law of 1894, passed by the Democratic Congress, contained an income tax provision, a flat rate of two per cent. being assessed against all incomes in excess of \$4,000.

This law was declared unconstitutional by a divided court—5 to 4—one judge changing his decision between the two hearings of the case. In 1896 the Democratic platform declared in favor of an income tax and the demand was repeated in 1900 and 1908. The platform of 1908 demanded an amendment to the Constitution specifically authorizing an income tax. The Republican platforms during those campaigns were silent on the subject and in the campaign of 1908 the Republican candidate announced his opposition to an amendment, giving as his reason that IT WAS NOT NECESSARY. He contended that an income tax, if needed, could be collected by a statute properly drawn. The Republican candidate was elected and then followed a peculiar situation which illustrates the influence of unexpected circumstances. The Democrats in the Senate took the President at his word and prepared an income tax amendment to the Aldrich Bill and secured the support of enough Progressives to insure its adoption. To defeat a STATUTORY income tax, Senator Aldrich prevailed upon President Taft to recommend THE VERY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT WHICH HE HAD DECLARED UNNECESSARY, and the Democrats, already committed to an amendment, accepted this solution of the situation and the amendment was submitted.

The Republican leaders did not expect the amendment to be ratified. President Taft made no effort to secure ratification and THE PRESENT REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE, MR. HUGHES, THEN GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, SENT A MESSAGE TO THE LEGISLATURE PROTESTING AGAINST RATIFICATION. But to the surprise of Republican leaders, the states ratified the amendment and it is now a part of the constitution, its validity being attested by a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court. Here is a great reform which has made it possible to transfer a large per cent. of Federal taxation from consumption to incomes—from the overburdened masses to those who have been escaping their fair share of the expense of government.

The Democratic party, having labored to secure the amendment, has been prompt to take the advantage of the opportunity it offers to do justice to the common people in the matter of taxation. Surely the Democratic party deserves the gratitude of the public for its sturdy defense of their rights and interests. PRESIDENT WILSON, THEN GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY, WAS ONE OF THE STATE EXECUTIVES WHO OFFICIALLY URGED THE RATIFICATION OF THE INCOME TAX AMENDMENT.

GLYNN SPEECH SOUNDS PARTY'S BATTLE SUMMONS

Woodrow Wilson's Matchless Record Is the Inspiration of a Famous Oration That Has Been Called "The Lexicon of Modern Democracy"

(The keynote speech delivered at the St. Louis Convention by former Governor Martin H. Glynn, of New York, was hailed throughout the United States as a thorough, brilliant and convincing address upon current issues. It won favorable notice even from Republican commentators, and its appeal, sound logic and effective interpretation of President Wilson's ideals and record in office must impress every man or woman who believes in the forward movement of American politics and national administration which President Wilson has led with such signal success. Following are extracts from this speech. It may be obtained in full on application to the Democratic National Committee or to the Democratic Congressional Committee.)

IF, IN THE GREAT CRISIS THAT NOW CONFRONTS THE NATION, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FALTER, IF THEY FORGET THAT THEY ARE GUARDIANS OF THE MOST SACRED TRUST THAT A PEOPLE EVER HELD, THEIR APOSTASY WILL BE VISITED UPON THE DESCENDANTS OF THEIR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN.

Out of the flaming fire of revolution, out of a struggle in which they risked their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, the Fathers of the Republic brought a nation which they dedicated to liberty and to human progress.

For the nation so consecrated, true men in every generation have labored and struggled, suffered and died, that it might flourish and endure.

We who stand to-day on the fertile soil of America, who live under the smiling skies of a free and fruitful land, must prove worthy of the trust that American sacrifice has imposed on every American.

MUST HOLD TO NATION'S TRADITIONS.

For the America of to-day and for the America of to-morrow, for the civilization of the present and for the civilization of the future, who must hold to the course that has made our nation great, we must steer by the stars that guided our ship of state through the vicissitudes of a century.

FOR MYSELF, I HAVE CONFIDENCE ENOUGH IN MY COUNTRY, FAITH ENOUGH IN MY COUNTRY-

MEN, TO BELIEVE THAT THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA WILL RISE TO THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES WITH A SINGLE MIND AND A SINGLE VOICE.

THE CRISIS TODAY.

One hundred and forty years ago the manhood of America was called upon to decide whether this should be a nation. Half a century ago Americans were forced to determine whether this should continue to be a nation. To-day the Republic faces a third crisis no less momentous than that of 1776 or that of 1860. To-day Americans must again determine whether their country shall preserve its national ideals, whether it shall have a national soul, whether it shall stand forth as a mighty and undivided force, whether the United States for which Washington fought and for which Lincoln died shall hold its place among the nations.

For two years the world has been afire; the civilization that we know has been torn by the mightiest struggle in its history. Sparks from Europe's conflagration have blazed in our own skies, echoes of her strife have sounded at our very doors. That fire still burns, that struggle still continues, but thus far the United States has held the flame at bay; thus far it has saved its people from participation in the conflict.

What the people of the United States must determine through their suffrage is whether the course the country has pursued through this crucial period is to be continued; whether the principles that have been asserted as our national policy shall be endorsed or withdrawn.

THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE.

This is the paramount issue. No lesser issue must cloud it, no unrelated problems must confuse it.

In the submission of this issue to the electorate we, of this convention, hold these truths to be self-evident to every student of America's history, to every friend of America's institutions.

FIRST—That the United States is constrained by the traditions of its past, by the logic of its present and by the promise of its future to hold itself apart from the European warfare, to save its citizens from participation in the conflict that now devastates the nations across the seas.

SECOND—That the United States in its relations with the European belligerents must continue the policy that it has pursued since the beginning of the war, the policy of strict neutrality in relation to every warring nation, the policy which Thomas Jefferson defined as "rendering to all the services and courtesies of friendship and praying for the reestablishment of peace and right."

THIRD—That save where the liberties, the territory or the substantial rights of the United States are invaded and assaulted, it is the duty of this nation to avoid war by every honorable means.

FOURTH—That it is the duty of the United States Government to maintain the dignity and the honor of the American nation and in every situation demand and secure from every belligerent the recognition of the neutral rights of its citizens.

FIFTH—That because the President of the United States has asserted these principles and pursued these policies the American people must support him with ardor and enthusiasm in order that these principles and policies may be known to all the world, not as the opinion of an individual but as the doctrine and faith of a loyal and united nation.

NEUTRALITY OLD AS FLAG.

In emphasis of these self-evident propositions we assert that the policy of neutrality is as truly American as the American flag.

For 200 years neutrality was a theory; America made it a fact.

The first President of the United States was the first man to pronounce neutrality a rule of international conduct.

In April, 1793, Washington declared the doctrine; and within a month, John Jay, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in an epoch making decision from the bench, whose realization would ensure universal and perpetual peace, wrote the principle into the law of this land. The Declaration of Independence had foretold it by declaring "the rest of mankind enemies in war, in peace friends"; the Constitution recognized it; but the first President of the United States by proclamation, the first Chief Justice by interpretation, gave it vitality and power.

And so neutrality is American in its initiation.

RECOGNIZED IN CANNING'S DAY.

Thirty years later Prime Minister Canning, in the British Parliament, pointed to this American policy of neutrality as a model for the world; and eighty years later, after approval by various statutes and agreements, it was written, almost word for word, in the treaty wherewith we settled our differences with England over violations of neutrality throughout the Civil war.

And so neutrality is American in its consummation.

AND TO-DAY IN THIS HALL, SO THAT ALL THE WORLD MAY HEAR, WE PROCLAIM THAT THIS AMERICAN POLICY OF NEUTRALITY IS THE POLICY WHICH THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION PURSUES WITH PATRIOTIC ZEAL AND RELIGIOUS DEVOTION; WHILE EUROPE'S SKIES BLAZE RED FROM FIRES OF WAR, EUROPE'S SOIL TURNS RED FROM BLOOD OF MEN, EUROPE'S EYES SEE RED FROM TEARS OF MOURNING WOMEN AND FROM SOBS OF STARVING CHILDREN.

THE MEN WHO SAY THIS POLICY IS NOT AMERICAN APPEAL TO PASSION AND TO PREJUDICE AND IGNORE THE FACTS OF HISTORY.

NEUTRALITY IS AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE LAWS OF THE WORLD. SIR HENRY MAINE SAYS SO, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS SAYS SO, HENRY CLAY SAYS SO, DANIEL WEBSTER SAYS SO, AND UPON THE EVIDENCE OF THESE WITNESSES WE REST OUR AMERICANISM AGAINST THE SPUTTERINGS OF PEPPER-POT POLITICIANS OR THE FABRICATIONS OF THOSE WITH WHOM A FALSE ISSUE IS A GOOD ISSUE UNTIL ITS FALSITY IS SHOWN, ITS MALICIOUSNESS EXPOSED.

WHERE THE PRESIDENT STANDS.

To win this priceless right of neutrality this nation had to undergo a long and painful struggle.

It took Washington with his allies and sword eight years to win recognition of his country's liberty; it took Washington and his successors eighty years of endless negotiation to win recognition of American neutrality. And this eighty years of struggle wove the doctrine of neutrality so closely into the warp and woof of our national life that to tear it out now would unravel the very threads of our existence.

Where is the American hardy enough to challenge a policy so firmly fixed in the nation's traditions? Is there among us any man bold enough to set his wisdom above that of Washington, his patriotism above that of Hamilton and his Americanism above that of Jefferson? Is there any American so blind to our past, so hostile to our future, that, departing from our policy of neutrality, he would hurl us headlong into the maelstrom of the war across the sea?

The President of the United States stands to-day where stood the men who made America and who saved America.

WITH GRANT AND JOHN ADAMS.

He stands where John Adams stood, when he told King George that America was the land he loved and that peace was her grandeur and her welfare. HE STANDS WHERE GENERAL GRANT STOOD WHEN HE SAID THERE NEVER WAS A WAR THAT COULD NOT HAVE BEEN SETTLED BETTER SOME OTHER WAY, AND HE HAS SHOWN HIS WILLINGNESS TO TRY THE WAYS OF PEACE BEFORE HE SEEKS THE PATHS OF WAR.

He stands where George Washington stood when he prayed that this country would never unsheath the sword except in self-defense so long as justice and our essential rights could be preserved without it.

For vain glory or for selfish purpose others may cry up a policy of blood and iron, but the President of the United States has acted on the belief that the leader of a nation who plunges his people into an unnecessary war, like Pontius Pilate vainly washes his hands of innocent blood while the earth quakes and thousand give up the ghost.

ONLY BY STANDING ON THIS ROCK OF AMERICANISM, AGAINST WHICH DASHED THE WAVES OF CONFLICT, COULD THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, FACED BY A WORLD IN ARMS, SAVE THIS COUNTRY FROM BEING DRAWN INTO THE WHIRLPOOL OF DISASTER. ONE FALSE STEP IN ANY DIRECTION AND HE WOULD HAVE CARRIED THE NATION WITH HIM OVER THE PRECIPICE. * * *

MUTE TESTIMONY OF WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN.

By opposing what we stand for to-day, the Republican party opposes what Hamilton stood for a century ago. The founder of the Republican party and the founder of the Democratic party, placing their country's happiness above every other consideration, forgot partisanship and made American neutrality a national creed. We who follow Jefferson stand where Jefferson stood, but we look in vain for a sign from the present leaders of the Republican party to show that they follow where Hamilton led. Where Hamilton thought only of country they thought only of self. Where Hamilton placed patriotism above partisanship they placed partisanship above patriotism. How long do they dare to speak for the great body of American citizens who form the rank and file of the Republican party? Do these leaders believe that their Republicanism is a better Republicanism than Hamilton's, their Americanism a purer Americanism than that of Washington?

Unless statesmanship has fallen into disrepute among Republicans, the men who controlled the Chicago convention cannot read Alexander Hamilton out of the Republican party. Unless I mistake the temper of the American people the Republican bosses can no more lead their adherents away from the neutrality for which Washington and Hamilton struggled than they can lead them away from the flag for which Washington and Hamilton fought.

INCONSISTENCY LAID BARE.

If Washington was right, if Jefferson was right, if Hamilton was right, if Lincoln was right, then the President of the United States is right to-day; if the Republican leaders are right then Lincoln was wrong and Jefferson was wrong and Hamilton was wrong and Washington was wrong.

In all the history of the world there is no other national policy that has justified itself so completely and entirely as the American policy of neutrality and isolation from the quarrels of European powers. Before we declared our neutrality we were embroiled in all the troubles of Great Britain, France and Spain; since then we have had less than three years of war with Europe and 116 years of amity and peace.

Before this declaration every war was a world-war; since this declaration nearly every war has been a local war. Before this declaration war was a whirlpool, ever-increasing in area and in its whirl dragging down the nations of the earth; since this declaration war has become a sea of trouble upon which nations embark only from self-will, from self-interest or the necessity of geographical position, of financial obligation or political alliance.

PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

Neutrality is the policy which has kept us at peace while Europe has been driving the nails of war through the hands and feet of a crucified humanity.

It has banished conquest from our programme of national greatness and has made us find our destiny at home. It has forced us to build on the brawn of our sons and the energy of our daughters rather than upon the tears of conquered women and the blood of conquered men. It has made us seek treasure in our harvests, wealth in our fields by staying our hands from war's blood stained pot of gold. It has been the flaming sword which forbade us to devastate the Eden of others and compelled us to make an Eden of our own. It has freed us from the paralyzing touch of Europe's balance of power, leaving to Europe the things that are Europe's and preserving for America the independence, the peace and the happiness that now are hers.

As a result of this policy America stands serene and confident, mighty and proud, a temple of peace and liberty in a world aflame, a sanctuary where the lamp of civilization burns clear and strong, a living, breathing monument to the statesmanship of the great Americans who kept it free from the menace of European war.

Wealth has come to us, power has come to us, but better than wealth or power we have maintained for ourselves and for our children a nation dedicated to the ideals of peace rather than to the gospel of selfishness and slaughter. * * *

A POLICY THAT SATISFIES.

But, say our critics, this policy satisfies no one.

They mean it does not satisfy those who would map out a new and untried course for this nation to pursue, but they forget it does satisfy those who believe the United States should live up to the principles it has professed for a century and more.

CHIEF JUSTICE WHITE OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT SAYS THIS POLICY HAS GIVEN AMERICA THE GREATEST DIPLOMATIC VICTORY OF THE PAST GENERATION. MAXIMILIAN HAR-

DEN, GERMANY'S NOTED EDITOR, SAYS "THAT NEVER ONCE HAS THIS REPUBLIC VIOLATED ITS NEUTRALITY," AND GILBERT K. CHESTERTON, THE FAMOUS ENGLISH JOURNALIST, SAYS "IT IS THE DUTY OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES," THAT "HE CAN'T DIP HIS COUNTRY INTO HELL JUST TO SHOW THE WORLD HE HAS A KEEN SENSE OF BEING AN INDIVIDUAL SAVIOUR."

THIS POLICY MAY NOT SATISFY THOSE WHO REVEL IN DESTRUCTION AND FIND PLEASURE IN DESPAIR. IT MAY NOT SATISFY THE FIRE-EATER OR THE SWASHBUCKLER BUT IT DOES SATISFY THOSE WHO WORSHIP AT THE ALTAR OF THE GOD OF PEACE. IT DOES SATISFY THE MOTHERS OF THE LAND AT WHOSE HEARTH AND FIRESIDE NO JINGOISTIC WAR HAS PLACED AN EMPTY CHAIR. IT DOES SATISFY THE DAUGHTERS OF THIS LAND FROM WHOM BLUSTER AND BRAG HAS SENT NO LOVING BROTHER TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE GRAVE. IT DOES SATISFY THE FATHERS OF THIS LAND AND THE SONS OF THIS LAND WHO WILL FIGHT FOR OUR FLAG, AND DIE FOR OUR FLAG WHEN REASON PRIMES THE RIFLE, WHEN HONOR DRAWS THE SWORD, WHEN JUSTICE BREATHES A BLESSING ON THE STANDARDS THEY UPHOLD.

"WHOM AND FOR HOW LONG?"

And whom, we ask, will the policy of our opponents satisfy, and for how long? Fighting for every degree of injury would mean perpetual war and this is the policy of our opponents, deny it how they will. It would not allow the United States to keep the sword out of the scabbard as long as there remains an unrighted wrong or an unsatisfied hope between the snowy wastes of Siberia and the jungled hills of Borneo. It would make America as dangerous to itself and to others, as destructive and as uncontrollable as the cannon that slipped its moorings in Victor Hugo's tale of '93. It would give us a war abroad each time the fighting cock of the European weather vane shifted with the breeze. It would make America the cockpit of the world. It would mean the reversal of our traditional policy of government. It would mean the adoption of imperialistic doctrines which we have denounced for over a century. It would make all the other nations the wards of the United States and the United States the keeper of the world. What would become of

keeper of the world. What would become of the Monroe Doctrine under such a policy? HOW LONG DO OUR OPPONENTS SUPPOSE WE WOULD BE ALLOWED TO MEDDLE IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS WHILE DENYING EUROPE THE RIGHT TO MEDDLE IN AMERICAN AFFAIRS. The policy of our opponents is a dream. It never could be a possibility, It is not even advanced in good faith it is simply an appeal to passion and pride. to sympathy and prejudice, to secure partisan advantage. In a word this policy of our opponents would make the United States the policeman of the world. Rome tried to be policeman of the world and went down Portugal tried to be policeman of the world and went down Spain tried and went down, and the United States proposes to profit by the experience of the ages and avoid ambitions whose reward is sorrow and whose crown is death * * *

WOODROW WILSON, THE MAN.

AMERICANISM AND PEACE, PREPAREDNESS AND PROSPERITY,—THESE ARE THE ISSUES UPON WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY STANDS, AND THE HEART OF DEMOCRACY SWELLS WITH PRIDE THAT IS MORE THAN A PRIDE OF PARTY, AS IT HAILS THE MAN, WHO HAS ASSERTED THIS AMERICANISM, ASSURED THIS PEACE, ADVOCATED THIS PREPAREDNESS AND PRODUCED THIS PROSPERITY.

THE MAN WHO IS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO-DAY HAS MEASURED UP TO THE BEST TRADITIONS OF A GREAT OFFICE.

He has been wise with a wisdom that is steeped in the traditions of his country, with a wisdom that has been disciplined by training and broadened by instruction.

He has been prudent with the prudence of one who has within his hands the destiny of a hundred million people.

He has been firm with the firmness that proceeds from deep conviction, with the firmness that is grounded in a duty well defined.

He has been courageous with the courage that places country above self, with the courage that follows duty wherever it may lead.

He has been dignified with the dignity that is self-forgetting and self-respecting, with the dignity that conserves the majesty of the greatest office in the world.

He has been patient with the patience which believes and trusts that truth crushed to earth will rise again, with the patience that can endure and wait, watch and pray, for the certain vindication of justice, humanity and right.

He has been patriotic with a patriotism that has never wavered, a patriotism that is as pure and strong as the faith that moved the fathers when they made our country free.

No President since the Civil war has had as crucial problems to solve; and no President has displayed a grasp more sure, a statesmanship more profound.

Assailed by the wolves of privilege, he has pulled their claws and drawn their teeth.

Assaulted by partisan envy he has shamed his traducers into silence and made friend and foe go forward together in the paths of national progress.

He has fired our patriotism with a new ardor; he has breathed into our ancient traditions a new vigor and a new life.

He has added strength to America's courage and mingled mercy with America's strength.

He has fastened the brakes of justice upon the wheels of power; he has lifted the mists from the temple where our liberties are enshrined.

"PRESIDENT AND PRESIDENT TO BE."

AND WHEN THE HISTORY OF THESE DAYS COMES TO BE WRITTEN, AND THE CHILDREN OF TO-MORROW READ THEIR NATION'S STORY, when time shall have dispelled all misconception, and the years shall have rendered their impartial verdict, one name will shine in golden splendor upon the page that is blackened with the tale of Europe's war, one name will represent the triumph of American principles over the hosts of darkness and of death.

THAT NAME WILL BE THE NAME OF THE GREAT PRESIDENT WHO HAS MADE DEMOCRACY PROUD THAT HE IS A DEMOCRAT, AND MADE AMERICANS PROUD THAT HE IS AN AMERICAN.

It will be the name of the student and the scholar who has kept his country true to its faith in a time that tried men's souls; the name of the statesman who has championed the cause of American freedom wherever he found it oppressed; the name of the patriot who has implanted his country's flag on the highest peak to which humanity has yet aspired; the name that carried the torch of progress to victory once and will carry it to victory again; the name of Woodrow Wilson, President and President to be.

CHARACTER.

IF you will think about what you ought to do for other people, your character will take care of itself. Character is a by-product, and any man who devotes himself to its cultivation in his own case will become a selfish prig. The only way your powers can become great is by exerting them outside the circle of your own narrow, special, selfish interests. And that is the reason of Christianity. Christ came into the world to save others, not to save Himself. —Woodrow Wilson's Address at Y. M. C. A. Celebration, Pittsburgh, Pa., October 24, 1914.

DEMOCRATIC MEASURES HIT CORRUPT PRACTICES

Important Victory in Long Fight Against Misuse of Money in Political Campaigns

THE strongest measure ever sanctioned by Federal lawmakers for the regulation of expenditures in national political campaigns was passed by the Democratic House on July 15th. It has the earnest support of the Wilson Administration and at the present writing is scheduled for early passage in the Senate and for enactment into law.

Only Republican opposition has delayed its final passage. It provides complete publicity of campaign contributions and, for the first time in the history of the United States, limits the expenditures of candidates for President and Vice-President. The Rucker Bill, as it is called, performs the additional service of consolidating into one compact whole all prior laws upon the subject of corrupt practices in politics.

This guarantee of cleanliness in national politics represents the success of steady battle to this end waged chiefly by Democrats and most conspicuously by Woodrow Wilson during the last six years. It constitutes a victory obtained in the face of the persistent and determined opposition during the last six years of the reactionaries controlling the majority of the Republican membership of the House and the Senate.

Under this measure candidates both for nomination and for election to the office of President, Vice-President, Senator and Representative must make public before nomination and before election statements setting forth their campaign expenditures and the source of their campaign contributions. Candidates for the presidency are limited to \$50,000. Candidates for the Vice-Presidency to \$25,000. And candidates for members of Congress to \$2,500.

REPUBLICAN LAW FULL OF JOKERS.

The first Federal statute enacted by Congress requiring the publicity of campaign receipts and expenditures was passed by the Taft Administration in 1910. This law, however, was an evasion in that it required an accounting only after election and only by national campaign committees—leaving therefore many loopholes. To correct these jokers the Democratic House in the next Congress passed a bill requiring accounting by committees before as well as after election, but the Senate struck out the provision requiring the pre-election statement.

The next Congress, Democratic in both branches, passed a law requiring publicity before election, and limiting the amount of expenditures.

The publicity feature provides safeguards against undue or improper expenditure by political committees. The principle of the bill is to throw open the door to every individual who desires to make contributions to a political committee, and to require the committee to make public the amount of the contribution, the name of the person from whom it came, and for what purpose it is used. In the event of failure of committees or candidates to report their returns at the proper time, the district attorney in whose district the delinquent resides is notified and must proceed to prosecute if upon investigation the facts are found to warrant it.

PROVIDES CURE OF SERIOUS EVILS.

"Your committee," declared the unanimous report written by Chairman Rucker of the House Committee which originated the measure, "has, in response to a widespread and growing sentiment broadened the scope of the bill so as to include candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. There seems to be no good reason why candidates for these high positions should not be limited like the candidates for the Senate and House in the amount that may be lawfully expended in securing their nominations and elections * * * Appeal to the mind and judgment of men by political parties and candidates for political office is commendable and is encouraged by every section and provision of this bill.

"But the objectionable and vicious practice, sometimes indulged in, of collecting large campaign funds in the great money centers and carting them into other states to demoralize, corrupt and debauch the electorate and thereby destroy the safety and purity of the ballot box is a crime against public morals which cannot be too harshly denounced or too soon prohibited. If the enactment and enforcement of this section will cure the evil, it will have fully accomplished its purpose and will meet the hearty approval of every voter whose vote cannot be purchased with money."

THREE QUOTATIONS

1. "The platform (Progressive) put forth in 1912 was much the most important public document promulgated in this country since the death of Abraham Lincoln."—Theodore Roosevelt.

2. "Our strongest party antagonists have accepted and enacted into law, or embodied in their platform, very many of our most important principles."—Also Theodore Roosevelt.

3. "The present administration, during its three years of life, has been guilty of shortcomings more signal than those of any administration since the days of Buchanan."—Likewise Theodore Roosevelt.

The United States was founded not to provide free homes but to assert human rights.—Woodrow Wilson.

WILSON VOTES FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE

President Adheres to Cause of "Votes for Women"

ON OCTOBER 6, 1915, when the constitutional amendment providing for Women's Suffrage was to be voted on in New Jersey, President Woodrow Wilson found time amid the heavy pressure of his official business to go to Princeton and cast his vote for suffrage. He was the first President in the history of the United States to vote for the enfranchisement of women.

An examination of the New York poll books reveals the fact that Justice Hughes was not sufficiently interested at that time to go to New York and vote for a similar amendment which was submitted that same Fall in New York.

The respective declarations of the Republican and Democratic platforms upon suffrage are:

DEMOCRATIC

We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men.

REPUBLICAN

The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half of the adult people of the country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself.

SUFFRAGE IN SENATE.

Once during the Wilson administration the Federal Suffrage Amendment came to a vote in the Senate. It was rejected by 35 yeas to 34 nays, the necessary two-thirds not having voted in its favor. This roll call is significant as showing the non-partisan lines on which the Senate divided on this question. Such prominent Republicans as Senator John W. Weeks, of Massachusetts, a candidate in 1916 for the Republican Presidential nomination, voted against the amendment which Mr. Hughes now favors. So did Senator W. E. Borah of Idaho, a "progressive Republican"; and so did Republican Senators Du Pont, Bradley, Brandegee, Catron, Dillingham, Lodge, McCumber, McLean, Oliver and Page.

RINGING CHALLENGE TO REPUBLICAN FOE

With Compelling Eloquence, Senator Ollie James Describes Woodrow Wilson's Services to America

(Ranking with the address of former Governor Martin H. Glynn, temporary chairman of the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis, 1916, was the oration by U. S. Senator Ollie James of Kentucky, the permanent chairman of the convention. Extracts from Senator James's speech follow. The full text may be obtained on application to the Democratic National Committee at the New York or Chicago offices, or to the Democratic Congressional Committee at Washington, D. C.)

DEMOCRACY wants an Army and a Navy in keeping with the dignity, preservation, and worth of this great Republic. [Applause.] Such preparedness and ability to defend ourselves, our cities from bombardment, and our soil from invasion, and to protect the rights of our citizens is the purpose of Woodrow Wilson. I want a Navy large enough that it will be impossible for a foreign shell to fall in a single American city. [Applause.] I want an Army strong enough to make it impossible for an aggressor's foot to press American soil. We do not want a foot of anybody else's soil, and, by the eternal God, they shall not take a foot of ours. [Applause.] I do not fear militarism. It has never menaced a free people.

In this land of freedom the right to declare war rests with the people themselves. Those who must fight its battles, speaking through their duly accredited Representatives in Congress—the House and the Senate—can alone declare war, and as the people can declare war so they can proclaim peace. Democracy believes in preparedness without militarism. During this administration we have done more to build up an Army and Navy in three years than the Republican Party did in forty years of its existence. More has been done to give the American people a Navy and an Army in three months than Col. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft did in eleven years.

GREAT DIPLOMATIC VICTORY.

No President during the life of this Republic has ever had to deal with so many delicate and dangerous problems as those which have confronted President Wilson during the last two years of his incumbency in office. With more than half of the world in arms in Europe, with Mexico in revolution at our border, these difficult and complicated interna-

tional problems have confronted him almost daily, and he has handled them as becomes a patriot and a statesman. When the "Lusitania" was sunk the militant voice of Theodore Roosevelt cried out for war, and if he had been President of the United States at that time, to-day 500,000 brave American sons would be contending around the fort of Verdun in this mighty maelstrom of blood—thousands would have been buried in the ditches. Our President, patient, patriotic, farsighted, the real statesman, handled this question with the greatest ability, and won for America its greatest diplomatic victory.

Some gentlemen in Congress undertook to take out of the President's hands the right of handling our foreign situation. Congress met that quickly, decisively, and said that they stood, as every American should stand, back of the President of the United States. When the President sent his ultimatum to Germany he was criticized by two elements—one that he was seeking to force the country into war and the other was that he was too cowardly to engage in the conflict. There are happily two kinds of courage; the courage of the man who is willing to undertake the danger himself and the courage of the man that sends others to the conflict. [Applause.] The courage of the man who wishes himself to enter the conflict may be rash, for he alone is to suffer, but the courage to take a nation into war, where millions of lives may be sacrificed, is another kind of courage. It is a courage that must be able to stand bitter abuse [applause]; a courage that moves slowly, acts coolly, and strikes no blow as long as diplomacy may be employed, honor of the country upheld, the flag respected, and lives of Americans protected. [Applause.] Woodrow Wilson has both kinds of courage—the courage of conflict and the courage to act coolly and sensibly when he is dealing with the lives of others—the fate of a nation. It was no time for divided counsel. The interference of Congress would have created chaos in this country, contempt for our honor and our country abroad, and would have destroyed the power of America to either maintain its honor or protect the rights of the neutrals of the world.

WILSON FOLLOWS LINCOLN'S LEAD.

The President has dealt with the Mexican situation, and his policy has been the same as that of Abraham Lincoln under like conditions more than half a century ago. [Applause.] Speaking through his great Secretary of State, Mr. Lincoln said:

"For a few years past the condition of Mexico has been so unsettled as to raise the question on both sides of the Atlantic whether the time has not come when some foreign power ought, in the interest of society generally, to intervene—to establish a protectorate or some other form of government in that country and guarantee its continuance there.

You will not fail to assure the Government of Mexico that the President neither has, nor can ever have, any sympathy with such designs, in whatever quarter they may arise or whatever character they may take on." * * *.

When the Republican platform at Chicago denounced the Mexican policy of Woodrow Wilson, it denounced at the same time the similar Mexican policy of Abraham Lincoln—the one they have heretofore called the "patron saint" of the Republican Party.

When the Lincoln administration came into power, Mexico had been in turmoil for years. The government of Juarez was in power, but was unable to enforce order. Not only had American property been destroyed, but American lives had been lost, and a member of the American legation had been murdered.

It is a perfectly easy thing for the President of the United States to plunge his country into war if he is a politician before he is a patriot. He would seek his own re-election as he came upon horseback up the bloody highway of contending armies. The American people have never yet repudiated a war President and never will. We are naturally a red-blooded, fighting race. Of course, our Army could invade Mexico and march in triumph to its capital, but after the war was over other armies would march—an army of widows and orphans, an army of cripples and men broken in health, an army of pensioners, and an army of tax collectors gathering up the earnings of the people to pay the great war debt. All America wants peace—peace with honor.

WORLD LEADER AND TEACHER.

Four years ago they sneeringly called Woodrow Wilson the school teacher; then his class was assembled within the narrow walls of Princeton College. They were the young men of America. To-day he is the world teacher, his class is made up of kings, kaisers, czars, princes, and potentates. The confines of the schoolroom circle the world. His subject is the protection of American life and American rights under international law.

The saving of neutral life, the freedom of the seas, and without orphaning a single American child, without widowing a single American mother, without firing a single gun, without the shedding of a single drop of blood, he has wrung from the most militant spirit that ever brooded above a battle field an acknowledgment of American rights and an agreement to American demands. [There were calls from the delegates and the galleries "repeat it." Mr. James here repeated the sentence. The continued cheering that followed this made it impossible for Mr. James to proceed. Tremendous outbursts of applause and cheering, the parading of delegates with the standards of many States around the hall kept up for 20 minutes before he was able to proceed with his speech.] He truly demonstrated that principle is mightier

than force, that diplomacy hath its victories no less renowned than war. Shall we by his defeat tangle again the untangled international problems—shall we say to the warring countries, "Open again these settled international questions; his was not the voice of his country"?

PEACE AND HONOR.

In the bloodiest crucible of all history he has kept the stainless banner of the Republic flying above 100,000,000 of people in peace and in honor. During these years of great trial, of difficulties, and complications crowding upon each other like waves of an angry sea, with enemies powerful from without and critics and traducers from within, with abuse cruel as it was cowardly, he emerges as majestic and powerful as a mountain after a storm, loved by all who believe in justice, and feared by those who temporize with wrong. He elevates himself to that lofty but lonely eminence occupied by George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson, the three worst abused but best beloved Americans the Republic ever grew. [Great applause.]

IMPERISHABLE GLORY FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Following are extracts from the editorial comment of independent and Republican newspapers upon Germany's answer to the final Lusitania note, September, 1915:

NEW YORK EVENING POST—"Without rattling a sword, without mobilizing a corporal's guard of soldiers, or lifting the anchor of a warship, won for civilization the greatest diplomatic victory of generations."

BOSTON NEWS BUREAU—For us the diplomatic victory is complete, and it is won through the President. This is the personal triumph, wrought out by ideas and work."

SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN—"It is the imperishable glory of President Wilson that in defending neutrals he has also vindicated the claims of civilization and humanity against a renascent barbarism."

NEW YORK EVENING POST — "The unconquerable power of moral ideas which is thus once more demonstrated. The President's moral victory assures him a foremost place in the pages of American history. * * * WITHOUT MOBILIZING A REGIMENT OR ASSEMBLING A FLEET, BY SHEER DOGGED, UNSWERVING PERSISTENCE IN ADVOCATING THE RIGHT, HE HAS COMPELLED THE SURRENDER OF THE PROUDEST, THE MOST ARROGANT, THE BEST ARMED OF NATIONS, AND HE HAS DONE IT IN THE COMPLETEST SELF-ABNEGATION, BUT IN FULLEST, MOST PATRIOTIC DEVOTION TO AMERICAN IDEALS."

"EFFICIENCY FIRST"

IS WILSON'S RULE

Review, Department by Department, Reveals Business Effectiveness Throughout the Government Service

WOODROW WILSON has breathed active eager purpose to serve the whole people into the entire government service.

New agencies devoted to the general welfare have been introduced in all the Government departments at Washington, and old ones have been energized and expanded.

The scandals that, without exception, characterized the succession of Republican administrations from 1896 to 1912 have been conspicuous by their absence.

Clean men have been appointed to appointive positions. They have kept clean and kept the work under them clean.

Administrative ability of high order has been displayed. Entirely new agencies of huge proportions have been put to work smoothly, usefully, efficiently.

Witness the parcel post in the Post Office Department; the installation of the Federal Reserve System; the creation, organization and adaptation to many urgent needs of the Department of Labor; the inauguration of a dozen new and vitally serviceable activities in the Department of Agriculture; the establishment of and prompt attack upon acute economic questions by the Federal Trade Commission; the practical entry of the Departments of Commerce and State into the promotion of foreign trade, etc.

Clean men have been given executive responsibility, and they have made cleanliness, efficiency and ability the measure of advancement beneath them. The merit system has not been undermined or overthrown. It has been enforced as never before.

A HUGHES BLUNDER.

MR. HUGHES WAS PARTICULARLY UNFORTUNATE IN FOCUSING ATTACK UPON THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICES. THESE FOREIGN SERVICES OF UNCLE SAM ARE RECOGNIZED THE WORLD OVER TODAY AS THE BEST IN THE BUSINESS. Since the European War began, the U. S. foreign representatives have shouldered not only their own increased duties, but have assumed successfully and brilliantly the diplomatic business of practically the entire civilized world.

Just about the most amazing thing happened at the recent

council of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom. The meeting was held at London and was devoted to the study of ways and means of improving British commercial efficiency and organization. It was a war council of the highest and most serious consequence because from the outset it has been clear that the result of the war depends upon industrial efficiency as much as upon military prowess.

GOT THE DESIRED FACTS.

Up rose President Sterling of the Belfast Delegation, and said that whenever he required exact technical details concerning Belfast's chief industry, the linen trade, he was obliged to seek it in the American Consular Reports. These, he said, contain better information than is possessed by the British government or by the Belfast trade.

Thereupon Colonel Herbert Hughes, C. B., C. M. G., President of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, representing Sheffield's great steel industry, said that the Sheffield manufacturers had found it imperative to know the sources and distribution throughout the world of wolfram ore, from which tungsten is made. Tungsten is essential in the manufacture of high-resistance steel for guns and armor.

Colonel Hughes stated that he searched available British data to no avail. Then he added: "It was suggested to me that I would find it in the trade statistics compiled from the reports of American consuls. I did find it there. I was able to discover where wolfram was produced; the quality, the state of the trade, and the amount likely to be available."

Norway has already reorganized its consular service along the American lines. Great Britain is planning a like change.

In many special articles this Text-Book tells of the larger constructive tasks done and done well under President Wilson. Below follows a review, Department by Department, of other important work, all of it useful, all of it good, all of it reflecting not only public spirit but effectiveness, administrative capacity and efficiency of personnel.

*THE STATE DEPARTMENT

NEW WORK of importance and scope never before imposed upon the American State Department has been brilliantly handled.

When hostilities broke out between the original belligerents, and later as other belligerents joined the war, the United States was asked to take over the representation of the belligerents in the countries of their enemies. As a result in most of the warring countries the United States has charge of the interests formerly cared for by the diplomatic and consular officers of the belligerents. All intercourse between the belligerents, as well as the public and private interests of one belligerent country in the territory of its enemy, are now, with a few exceptions, handled by American representatives.

*The larger work of the State Department in the submarine negotiations and protests to Great Britain are dealt with in the special article on the European war.

This work has required large additions to the personnel of the American foreign service in the countries at war. It has enabled the United States to perform relief service among the war-stricken peoples on an enormous scale.

AID TO AMERICANS.

When the war opened there were nearly three hundred thousand Americans in Europe who were anxious to return to the United States immediately. The State Department cooperated in aiding them. (See Treasury article.) The Department was deluged with inquiries regarding friends and relatives and requests to transmit money to them in Europe, at times receiving as much as \$70,000 for this purpose in a single day. The business of taking care of the repatriation of these Americans alone was an enormous task.

When the prisoners of war began to be taken in large numbers and concentrated in prison camps, the belligerents were anxious that their subjects in these camps should receive proper care and treatment. They requested the United States to send representatives to visit and report upon the conditions existing in the concentration camps in Great Britain, Germany, Austro-Hungary and Russia. This work has required a large part of the time of many American diplomatic and consular officers for several months and is, at the present time, receiving their careful attention.

Perhaps the most important work of the Department, so far as American interests are concerned, has been the protection of the neutrality of the United States.

The Department has labored vigilantly to prevent the ports of the United States from being used as bases of naval operations by vessels carrying supplies to belligerent warships at sea. It was doubtful whether the laws then existing were sufficient to withhold clearance from vessels supposed to be engaged in such business. To remove this doubt the administration asked Congress to pass a joint resolution, which was done on March 4, 1915, authorizing and empowering the President to withhold clearance from any vessel which he had reasonable cause to believe to be about to carry fuel, arms, ammunition, men or supplies, to any warship or supply-ship of a belligerent nation in violation of the neutral obligations of

OUR EFFICIENT AMBASSADORS.

(From Washington Star (Rep.), March 12, 1916).

"* * *. The President was criticised at the beginning of his administration for some of his diplomatic and many of his consular appointments * * *. But as the proof of the pudding is in the eating, it is to be confessed that in these cases mentioned (ambassadors at European capitals) he picked men who have met, and met well, emergencies of much difficulty, and carried themselves in a way generally to justify his favor fully. And as the war is still in progress there is further work for them to do."

the United States. In the carrying out of this resolution, the State Department has had the co-operation of the Treasury Department, through its collectors of customs, and the Navy Department.

In the maintenance of the neutrality of the United States it has been necessary to scrutinize incoming and outgoing vessels, not only as to their character and outfit, but as to their destination. War vessels of certain belligerents have visited American ports and accepted the customary hospitality in time of war. When war vessels have not been able to complete the repairs necessary to make them seaworthy,

THAT IMPORTS QUESTION.

From the N. Y. Evening Post (Ind.)

APPARENTLY with a dim appreciation of that difficulty, the Chicago platform proceeded triumphantly to remark that under the tariff of 1913 "imports have enormously increased, in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war." If we take the trade figures last at hand, covering the ten months of the present fiscal year up to April 30, we shall find that, as against the \$1,249,000,000 increase in merchandise exports as compared with the corresponding months up to April 30, 1914, the country's imports increased \$150,000,000. Probably most people would say that, in view of the prodigious export movement, the increase of imports was abnormally small. But waiving that consideration, it may be asked what these increased importations were, and how related to the tariff. The facts are interesting; we commend them to the attention of the spellbinders. Import of finished manufactures decreased \$129,000,000 from the same period of the last fiscal year before the war, a decline of 34 per cent. Where was the increase then? Under the item which the Government's statement describes as "crude materials for use in manufacturing," we find an increase of \$219,000,000. If the Republican party "views with alarm" this fairly convincing showing, it should consult the manufacturers. THE FURTHER INCIDENTAL FACT THAT, WHILE OUR IMPORTS FOR THE PERIOD FROM EUROPE DECREASED \$220,000,000, THOSE FROM SOUTH AMERICA INCREASED \$128,000,000 AND FROM ASIA \$85,000,000—COUNTRIES IN WHICH WE ARE SUCCESSFULLY PUSHING OUR EXPORTS, AND WITH WHICH OUR MERCHANTS ARE HOPING FOR A RAPID GROWTH IN TRADE—MAY ALSO PRESENT SOME MATTER FOR REFLECTION.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM DRAFTED IN CHICAGO IS A "REMARKABLE ILLUMINATION" WITH ONE-HALF OF THE LEGISLATION IT DEMANDS ALREADY ENACTED AND THE OTHER HALF NOW BEING WORKED OUT BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

within a reasonable time, it has been necessary to cause them to be interned. This has been done with the German cruisers Prince Eitel Frederick, Crown Prinz Wilhelm and Geier, and with the auxiliary vessels Locksun and Farn.

The Panama Canal was opened to the passage of merchant vessels and ships of war last autumn. This necessitated the immediate preparation of rules governing the use of the Canal by warships of belligerent nations. The State Department, in co-operation with the War Department, prepared a set of rules which were put in force by a proclamation of the President dated November 13, 1914. In order to make the rules effective, an agreement was negotiated with Panama by which that country and the Canal Zone were to be regarded as practically one district for the enforcement of the rule as to coaling battleships.

WIRELESS RESTRICTIONS.

When hostilities broke out the question arose as to the use of wireless stations for the transmission of messages. As such stations could be used from American shores to direct the movements of vessels at sea, all stations in the United States were placed under censorship which, by Executive Order of August 5, was to be enforced by the Navy Department. As communication with Germany had been severed through the cutting of the line, the censorship was later modified so as to allow the transmission of official messages in code as long as they are of a neutral nature.

As a belligerent measure Great Britain early in the war

AN EXPERIMENT NO MORE.

THE United States were founded, not to provide free homes, but to assert human rights. This flag meant a great enterprise of the human spirit. Nobody, no large bodies of men, in the time that flag was first set up believed with a very firm belief in the efficacy of democracy. Do you realize that only so long ago as the time of the American Revolution democracy was regarded as an experiment in the world and we were regarded as rash experimenters? * * *

Democracy is the most difficult form of government, because it is the form under which you have to persuade the largest number of persons to do anything in particular. But I think we were the more pleased to undertake it because it is difficult. Anybody can do what is easy. We have shown that we could do what was hard, and the pride that ought to dwell in your hearts tonight is that you saw to it that that experiment was brought to the day of its triumphant demonstration.—President Wilson's Address at G. A. R. Celebration at Camp Emery, September 28, 1915.

placed a censorship upon telegrams transmitted by cables touching that country. The Department has had considerable correspondence with the British Government on this subject, with a view to having the censorship modified as to certain classes of innocent telegrams. Modifications have been obtained. As, however, the United States has in its war censored telegraphic communications, and as it regards this procedure as a legitimate military measure in time of war, and as the British Government holds to the same view, the censorship of telegraphic communications has not been entirely lifted.

The Department has been of great service to the work of the Belgian Relief Commission, headed by an American citizen as chairman and composed entirely of neutrals, by assisting the belligerent governments to agree not to interfere with the shipment of food and supplies to Belgium.

Late last year, one person of German nationality was taken from an American vessel on the high seas by belligerent cruisers and detained as an enemy alien. As this action was in the view of the Department, without legal justification, protests were made and after correspondence extending over a few months the release was obtained of the person arrested in this manner.

REGULATING PASSPORTS.

The war has shown that the regulations of the Department in regard to the issuance of passports were too lax to be useful in a great war involving so many nations which had subjects residing in the United States. New regulations therefore were issued, which have been made more strict from time to time as circumstances appeared to require. At present passports are only good for a period of six months for visiting particular countries for the special purpose set forth in them. A photograph of the bearer is affixed to the passport by the impress of an appropriate seal. Nevertheless, it has come to the knowledge of the Department that certain of these passports have been reproduced and forged. Every effort is being made to ascertain who the perpetrators of the forged passports are.

The Department has had to consider the restraints upon commerce produced by the measures of Great Britain and her allies. The United States has protested against the so-called "blockade" order of March 11, 1915. This matter, as well as other restraints upon commerce, are now matters of discussion between the Department and the Government of Great Britain.

THIRTY PEACE TREATIES.

A plan made operative by the State Department, now embodied in treaties with thirty nations which, altogether, exercise authority over three-quarters of the population of the globe, provides first, that **ALL DISPUTES OF EVERY KIND AND CHARACTER**, which cannot be settled by diplomacy, **MUST**, if they are not by another **TREATY** submitted for arbitration, be submitted to an international tribunal for investigation and report; second, that

the investigation must be concluded within one year; third, that the contracting parties reserve the right of independent action at the conclusion of the investigation, but, fourth, that they agree not to resort to force during the investigation.

These four provisions will, it is believed, make war a remote possibility between the contracting parties.

The plan of these treaties has been followed by Brazil, Argentina and Chili in a treaty which they have recently signed. If the belligerent nations had been bound together by similar treaties the present conflict might have been avoided, but, while they were supplied with machinery for war, they had no machinery sufficient for dealing with disputes which defied diplomatic settlement. And, strange to say, until the beginning of this administration this country was nearly as poorly supplied as Europe with machinery for peace.

THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT

*The United States Treasury has been freed of Wall Street control under President Wilson and Secretary McAdoo. Its powers and its labors have been devoted wholly and solely to the public interest. Here follows a brief survey of the results:

The deposit of funds with national banks in the agricultural states for the purpose of assisting in the movement of crops instead of in New York banks.

The enactment of a law authorizing the President to call a Pan-American Financial Conference, and the holding of such conference on May 24, 1915, under the direction of Secretary of the Treasury W. G. McAdoo.

The adoption of a consistent and economical system in regard to the acquisition of sites for public buildings and the construction of such buildings which will lead to increased economy and better service.

The enforcement of the oleomargarine law whereby the receipts from taxes of oleomargarine have been increased many fold.

Advantages of new financial system increased by the crusade of the Comptroller of the Currency against banks which have been charging usurious interest rates.

Sales of opium, cocaine and kindred habit-forming drugs reduced 75 per cent. under the Harrison Anti-Narcotics Law.

New War Risk Insurance Bureau operated at a profit to the Government and to the great assistance of American shipping.

The consolidation of the Revenue Cutter and Life Saving Services, with an increase in economy and efficiency in operation.

The amendment of the so-called Aldrich-Vreeland Act which converted a dead letter into a practical instrument

There is a distinction waiting for this Nation that no nation has ever yet got. That is the distinction of absolute self-control and mastery.—Woodrow Wilson.

*Special articles upon the Treasury's condition, Pan-American affairs, Revision of the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, and the Federal Reserve Act will be found on pages 168, 183, 265 and 348, respectively.

of relief to the banks and the public generally during troublous days that followed the outbreak of the European War.

The direct assistance rendered by the Secretary of the Treasury to the banks and business interests of the United States in the crisis following the outbreak of the European War.

The relief of thousands of Americans who otherwise would have been stranded in the countries at war.

Charging interest on United States deposits with national banks at the rate of two per cent. per annum, thereby making the national banks, for the first time, pay for the use of Uncle Sam's money.

The expansion of the Public Health Service into a public welfare enterprise of the highest value. This Service has been made not only the instrument of effective protection against the entry of contagious diseases into the country but a valuable practical means of combating rural, industrial and vocational diseases throughout the country.

The establishment of a system of shipping Government moneys and securities by mail, insured, instead of by express as heretofore, resulting in large savings to the Government as well as to the banks of the country.

The reduction of the charges for assaying ores at the Philadelphia mint and the minor assay offices, thereby making the mint service a real help to the man who mines for precious metals.

The purchase of 4,375,000 ounces of silver between August 3 and September 17, 1915—the largest in a similar period since the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman Act, approved July 1, 1890, at the average price of \$0.487 per ounce. This transaction resulted in a marked advance in the price of silver and so stimulated the market that the production of this metal has continued without abatement, whereas operations in a number of mines were about to cease.

CROP MOVING DEPOSITS.

The policy of depositing funds of the public treasury in the sections of the country where they would serve the interests of the people of the United States in facilitating the movement and marketing of the crops and not the selfish interests of the profit-seeking money powers of the country is one of the most convincing evidences of the administration's freedom of Wall Street control. The common good inspired and directed this use of Government funds to meet the demands of harvesting the crops, resulting in the relief of the usual stringency and the release of adequate credit to our farmers, merchants, shippers and all other legitimate business at reasonable rates of interest, such as they had never enjoyed during these periods in Republican regimes.

This was done even under the old unrevised banking system before the Federal Reserve Act was placed in operation.

The Republican party during its years of power chose one of two privilege-favored courses in dealing with the situation: It either poured the funds of the Treasury into New York, Chicago and other big money centers where they were loaned out by the banks at high rates of interest to other banks in the localities where they were needed, reaching the actual borrowers at exorbitant figures; or it sat idly at Washington with the money locked in the vaults of the

Treasury and took absolutely no steps to relieve the suffering farmers and other legitimate business interests. Whichever of the two courses was adopted the beneficiaries were the dominant moneyed interests of the country. The Republican party enabling them to exact extortionate interest rates from the producers who were denied relief by the very Government that was supposed to exist for their benefit.

Contrast the Republican record with the course of a Democratic Secretary of the Treasury who in the summers of 1913 and 1914—the two years of the Wilson administration preceding the operation of the Federal Reserve System—deposited Government funds directly in the sections where they were needed to move the crops or to assist general business conditions. For the first time in the history of the country he swept aside the great money centers as beneficiaries and went directly to the localities where there was need of money.

Depositories were created in the SMALLER CITIES AND TOWNS throughout the country where the consumer borrowed direct from the bank in which it was placed. In 1906 and 1907, public moneys were, with one exception, placed in existing depositories, the principal portion going to the big money centers.

CONTRAST WITH REPUBLICAN POLICY.

July 31, 1913, Secretary McAdoo announced that he would deposit \$25,000,000 to \$50,000,000 with the National banks of the South and West, the sections of the country where the customary seasonal demands were pressing for the movement and marketing of the crops. Forty-six million, five hundred thousand dollars was allotted but the mere announcement of the Secretary's willingness to relieve the usual stringency of the period so restored confidence and relieved the situation that it was necessary to distribute only \$37,386,000. Twenty-one million, eight hundred and four thousand dollars was placed in 130 banks in 40 cities in 13 southern states and the District of Columbia, while 63 banks in 23 cities in 15 western states received \$15,582,000.

Under Roosevelt, Secretary Cortelyou, from August 28 to October 14, 1907, made weekly deposits with banks in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis direct aggregating \$25,000,000 to assist in moving the crops. The New York City banks received direct and for other banks a total of \$16,150,900 of the \$25,000,000. From October 22 to November 4, during the panic of 1907, Secretary Cortelyou deposited \$39,674,000 additional in New York City.

Secretary McAdoo is the first Secretary of the Treasury to require the national banks of the country to pay interest on all Government deposits, or in other words, to adopt the obvious business principle of charging reasonable interest for the use of the people's money. FOR YEARS UNDER REPUBLICAN RULE BANKS RECEIVED FUNDS OF THE GOVERNMENT, GREATLY INCREASING THEIR WORKING CAPITAL, AND DID NOT GIVE THE TREASURY ONE CENT FOR THEIR USE.

Prior to 1908 interest had never been required on Government deposits. After the Act of 1908, interest at the rate of one per cent. per annum was collected on so-called "inactive accounts" in all national banks until July 1, 1912, after which two per cent. interest was collected on that class of deposits. Two per cent. interest was collected on the District of Columbia Tax Allotment beginning with May, 1911. By "inactive accounts" is meant a special deposit (usually \$1,000) which remains fixed or stationary in amount.

On April 30, 1913, Secretary McAdoo announced that, beginning June 1, 1913, all Government depositories would be required to pay interest at the rate of two per cent. per annum on all Government funds, active as well as inactive, in order that the Government should receive a proper return for the use of its money. THIS ACTION EARNED FOR THE TREASURY \$1,409,426 DURING THE FISCAL YEAR 1914 AND \$1,222,707 DURING THE FISCAL YEAR 1915, AND OVER \$800,000 IN THE FISCAL YEAR 1916, OR A TOTAL OF MORE THAN \$3,500,000 FOR THE THREE YEARS, AS COMPARED WITH \$810,623 FOR THE ENTIRE SIX YEARS UNDER REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS FROM 1908 TO 1913. If Republican Secretaries of the Treasury had followed the same course as Secretary McAdoo in charging two per cent. interest on all Government deposits from 1908 to 1913, the proceeds to the Treasury would have been \$9,409,396, as compared with the \$810,623 received during those years.

This is another instance of the superior efficiency and business ability of Democratic administration of the Government.

The prompt and vigorous handling of the relief problem after the war began set a new example of a country's solicitude and care for its citizens in foreign lands. No govern-

CLOSET-COUNCILS DANGEROUS.

I BELIEVE in the patriotism and energy and initiative of the average man. Some men say they believe in it, but when they act, they show that they do not. They show that they think the only advice that it is safe to take is their advice. [Voice in crowd: "Oh, you Teddy!"] I was not referring to any individual, but I could give you an interesting and a very short list of a group of individuals who have that opinion, namely, that it is not safe for the United States to escape from their control. I feel perfectly safe in the hands of the average body of my fellow citizens. The theory of government which I decline to subscribe to is that the vitality of the nation comes out of closeted councils where a few men determine the policy of the country.—President Wilson's Address to Advertising Clubs at Philadelphia, June 29, 1916.

ment ever before offered such relief and protection to the citizens under its flag.

The Administration sent a public vessel laden with gold to Europe to provide food, shelter and transportation home for Americans who, overtaken in the zone of trouble by the sudden outbreak of war, found themselves among strangers, helpless and penniless. ITS PROMPT AND EFFECTIVE ACTION SAVED THE REFUGEES FROM INDESCRIBABLE SUFFERING AND POSSIBLE DEATH AND RELIEVED THE AGONIZING ANXIETY OF THEIR FRIENDS IN THIS COUNTRY.

Three hundred thousand Americans scattered over the continent of Europe flocked to the larger cities and besieged the American embassies, legations and consulates. At the earnest request of President Wilson, Congress appropriated \$2,750,000 for the relief, protection and transportation of these citizens.

By direction of the President, a Relief Board, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury as Chairman, and the Secretaries of State, War and Navy, promptly organized a relief expedition and sent the U. S. S. Tennessee to Europe with \$1,500,000 gold on board belonging to the Government, and \$3,000,000 gold forwarded by bankers to protect the holders of their letters of credit. The remotest corners of the continent of Europe were searched for information regarding American citizens, and the Government's effective course allayed the apprehension and alarm of their friends in this country.

CREATION OF COAST GUARD.

The creation of the Coast Guard by the consolidation of the Revenue Cutter and Life Saving Services is another illustration of Democratic efficiency in government as compared with Republican incapacity.

As it exists today the Coast Guard combines both Services under one executive head, provides a retired list for the men on account of age, thirty years' service, gives the men of the former Life-Saving Service longevity pay, clothing allowance, and medical attention from the Public Health Service. The combined services today are in the most efficient condition of their history.

For many Republican years there had been agitation to render aid to the hardy American fishermen whose vocation carries them to regions where they are out of reach of medical assistance, in furnishing the important supply of fish to the American people. It was recognized that the Government owed consideration of this kind to this class of its citizens, as nearly all of the important maritime nations have furnished aid of this kind.

By the Act of June 24, 1914, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to utilize any coast guard cutter to extend medical and surgical aid to the crews of American vessels engaged in the deep-sea fisheries. This floating hospital system was inaugurated January 6, 1915, and has been maintained every since. Much benefit has been given to sick and injured

fishermen by this humanitarian work by the Federal Government under Democratic control.

The cost of collecting the great sum of \$512,740,769.58 of Internal Revenue taxes last year was, as a result of Democratic efficiency and economy, only 1.40 per cent., the lowest cost in the history of the Internal Revenue service. The average cost of collecting the Internal Revenue receipts during the three fiscal years of President Wilson's administration, 1914, 1915 and 1916, was only 1.52 per cent., as compared with an average of 1.93 per cent. during the administrations of President Roosevelt and 1.68 per cent. during the administration of President Taft, or an average of 1.84 per cent. during the combined Roosevelt and Taft administrations.

DESPITE NEW BURDENS.

This great record of efficiency and economy in the Internal Revenue service during President Wilson's three years has been made despite the fact that during his administration several new laws have been placed on the statute books for administration by the Internal Revenue Bureau, such as "The Cotton Futures Act" and "The Anti-Narcotic Act," which are not revenue producers. Regardless of the fact that it has been necessary to incur expenses incident to enforcing these acts, the total cost of collection for the fiscal year 1916 was the lowest in the history of the Internal Revenue Service.

The Wilson Administration has an unparalleled record of fruitful activity in the field of public health. This work has benefited the workingman, the farmer, and every other class

IDLE WORKER AND VACANT JOB.

How They Are Brought Together Under Democratic Administration.

The labor of this country needs to be guided from opportunity to opportunity. We proved it the other day. We were told that in two States of the Union 30,000 men were needed to gather the crops. We suggested in a Cabinet meeting that the Department of Labor should have printed information about this in such form that it could be posted up in the post offices all over the United States, and that the Department of Labor should get in touch with the labor departments of the States, so that notice could go out from them, and their co-operation obtained. What was the result? Those 30,000 men were found and were sent to the places where they got profitable employment. I do not know any one thing that has happened in my administration that made me feel happier than that—that the job and the man had been brought together.—President Wilson's Jackson Day Address at Indianapolis, Ind., January 8, 1915.

of citizen, and presents a record unapproached by any other administration.

After years of neglect of the subject, the Wilson administration took up the question of sanitary conditions in rural communities for the protection of the health of farmers. Typhoid fever has been reduced 80 per cent. in some localities where the Public Health Service, which is under the Treasury Department, has made investigations. Other studies have reduced the prevalence of malaria as much as 50 per cent. in a single year.

RURAL SANITATION.

Nearly 54 per cent. of the population of the United States dwell in rural communities, many of which are without adequate means for the disposal of sewage, the safeguarding of water supplies, or other means of sanitation, while the remaining portion of the population is much more adequately safeguarded. As a consequence the death rate during the past two decades in cities has shown a marked and decided reduction, while that of country districts has exhibited little change. Although these conditions have been common knowledge for years and the subject of reports from various commissions, it remained for the present administration to pass the first national appropriation for the study and improvement of health conditions in farming communities.

Until the Wilson administration came into power, the United States, the greatest industrial nation in the world, had never made more than an isolated effort toward either the study or the prevention of occupational or industrial diseases.

Within the past three and one-half years, however, extensive investigations have been inaugurated by the Public Health Service of the occupational hazards of industry. An industrial laboratory has been equipped in the Pittsburgh district for the study and prevention of occupational and industrial diseases and thorough investigations have been made elsewhere of the occupational risks of various industries. In co-operation with the Bureau of Mines the hazards of miners have been investigated and the methods to be adopted for the improvement of hygienic conditions and the better sanitation of mines have been outlined and followed, such, for instance, as the prevention of tuberculosis among the zinc miners of Missouri. In many other instances it has been possible to recommend and adopt measures which have led to a reduction in illness and the saving of many lives.

VOCATIONAL DISEASES.

For the first time in the history of the country, Congress, under Democratic control, has made adequate financial provision for the investigation of disease, including studies and methods of the prevention of malaria, the eradication of typhoid fever and pellagra, investigations of the pollution of streams, studies of child labor problems and the like.

Effective co-operation and assistance have been rendered State and local health authorities in controlling epidemics and preventing the spread of disease. When infantile paralysis appeared as an epidemic in New York City, the Public

Health Service not only assisted in checking the disease in New York but in preventing its transmission to other parts of the United States.

Methods for the prevention of the interstate spread of disease have been extended and expanded and means for the better protection of the health of travelers have been adopted. The care and cleanliness of railway passenger coaches has been placed on a higher standard, and the transportation of persons in a communicable stage of disease has been regulated to safeguard the health of fellow travelers. Energetic measures prevented dissemination in this country of the Mexican epidemic of typhus fever, a deadly scourge.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

THE Wilson Administration's conduct of the Department of Justice has:

*BROUGHT ABOUT ACTUAL DISSOLUTION OF TRUSTS IN CONTRAST WITH THE SHAM DISSOLUTIONS OF THE ROOSEVELT AND TAFT ADMINISTRATIONS.

*ENFORCED THE ANTI-TRUST STATUTES IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE TRADE COMMISSION SO AS TO REDUCE THE AREA OF DOUBT KNOWN AS THE TWILIGHT ZONE, AND THUS CLEAR UP THE LAWS OF BUSINESS.

SUCCESSFULLY DEFENDED THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE INCOME TAX AND OF THE ACT OF CONGRESS MAKING PIPE LINES COMMON CARRIERS.

CLARIFIED BY SUCCESSFUL PROSECUTIONS THE PURE FOOD LAW AND THE COMMODITY CLAUSE OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT WHICH PREVENTS RAILROADS FROM ENGAGING IN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN COMPETITION WITH SHIPPERS ALONG THEIR LINES.

VIGOROUSLY PROSECUTED VIOLATIONS OF THE NEUTRALITY LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

ACTIVELY GUARDED THE PUBLIC INTEREST AGAINST LAND FRAUDS INVOLVING TITLE TO VALUABLE DEPOSITS OF OIL AND OTHER OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES.

PROTECTED THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST ALMOST INNUMERABLE ATTEMPTS TO SECURE LARGE SUMS THROUGH DAMAGE SUITS IN THE COURT OF CLAIMS.

ENFORCED THE CRIMINAL STATUTES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

AND INTRODUCED A NEW STANDARD OF EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY IN THE SERVICE BOTH IN THE FIELD AND AT WASHINGTON.

The Department of Justice has begun in the courts only those cases which upon the most careful consideration and review have seemed to be well founded. It has been careful to refrain from trivial prosecutions based on technical grounds and has been scrupulous to avoid the temptation to seek public favor by attacking unpopular but lawful enterprises.

**For trust prosecutions, see special article, page 537.*

Violations of the Interstate Commerce Acts have been vigorously prosecuted and a broad construction of their remedial provisions secured in cases which have been presented to the Supreme Court during this Administration. In these cases the Acts were held to apply to trains engaged in interyard movements and also to interurban electric trains.

PURE FOOD LAWS.

In the enforcement of the Food and Drugs and Meat Inspection Acts, laws which so vitally affect the public health and welfare, many serious questions arose which hampered the effectiveness of these Acts. These questions were presented to the Supreme Court in several important cases and the Government secured interpretations of the Acts which put new life and vigor into them and greatly enhanced their value as protective measures. Under these decisions, the addition of a poison to any food, whether simple or compound, in amounts which may be harmful to any class of persons consuming it, is forbidden, as is also the use of a misleading compound name or the practice of deception through the employment of a name of an unusual derivative rather than the poison from which derived.

Another important victory for the Government was the decision upholding the constitutionality of an amendment to the Food and Drugs Act which forbids the use in interstate commerce of labels or circulars containing false and fraudulent representations as to the therapeutic value of the article. This decision will greatly facilitate the prosecution of manufacturers of fraudulent patent medicines, which have proved a curse to the country and menace to the public health.

A case involving the constitutionality of the Migratory Bird Law was argued before the Supreme Court last October. The case has been set for reargument next fall. The administration of this law has caused a most gratifying increase in the number of game and insectivorous birds, many species of which were threatened with extermination.

The evasion of State prohibition laws has been checked by the vigorous enforcement of the Federal laws governing the interstate shipment of alcoholic liquors.

LAND FRAUDS RUN DOWN.

Since March 4, 1913, the Public Lands Division of the Department of Justice has brought to a conclusion 657 civil and 247 criminal proceedings affecting public lands, and 537 civil and 42 criminal cases involving Indian lands. Of these, 444 civil and 96 criminal cases affecting public lands, and 431 civil and 25 criminal matters affecting Indian lands were terminated favorably to the Government. The value directly and indirectly involved in this litigation is enormous.

In the Midwest Oil Company's case the Attorney General succeeded in establishing the right of the President to make withdrawals of public lands for public purposes. This decision is believed to be the most important and far reaching of any affecting the public domain rendered by the Supreme

Court in recent years. Exploitation of the public petroleum lands had become very active and the unusually large production of oil threatened to exhaust the supply in a very wasteful manner. The conservation of oil as fuel for the navy is one of the serious matters involved. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ESTIMATE WITH PRECISION THE VALUE OF THE LANDS AND OIL SAVED TO THE GOVERNMENT UNDER THIS DECISION, BUT IT IS SAFE TO SAY THAT THE PROPERTY AFFECTED AGGREGATES THOUSANDS OF ACRES OF LAND CONTAINING OIL ESTIMATED TO BE WORTH MORE THAN \$100,000,000.

OIL LAND CASES.

Twenty-five suits have been brought in California and two in Wyoming for the protection of reserved oil deposits.

In litigation against the Southern Pacific Company et al., to recover title to 6,000 acres of valuable petroleum lands patented to the Southern Pacific Company, the court decided in favor of the Government, the lands recovered being estimated as worth \$18,000,000.

Another case of great importance under the Public Lands Division is that now pending against the Oregon and California Railroad Company, involving 2,364,000 acres of land in Oregon valued as high as \$50,000,000.

The Oklahoma River Bed cases are among the most important of those under the Public Lands Division.

The value of the property now actually in controversy is about \$20,000,000.

A record of the important land litigation directed by the Attorney General under the present administration is too long to be stated in detail in this article. There have been numerous cases in addition to those above stated in which the Government has scored important victories. Large and valuable areas of public land and of Indian land (particularly in the State of Oklahoma), have been relieved from trespasses and illegal claims, as the result of diligent and unremitting labors of the Department.

RECORD WORK IS DONE BEFORE CLAIMS COURT.

Upon the Attorney General is imposed the defense of suits in the Court of Claims. Here, as elsewhere in the Department, an increase in the volume of business transacted has been shown during the present administration. The Court of Claims division has disposed of more than 20,000 cases, involving more than \$138,000,000.

In bankruptcy cases a great many more indictments and convictions have been obtained under this administration than during preceding periods. So effective has been the investigation and prosecution of violations of the White Slave Traffic Act that such offenses are now very rare. From March 1, 1913, to December 30, 1915, there were 872 convictions under this act.

*POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

THE STORY of postal administration under the Wilson Administration is a story of the administration for the first time of the largest governmental business enterprise in the world on a strictly business basis.

The NET SURPLUS of postal receipts and expenditures for the four fiscal years 1913-16 under President Wilson is more than \$1,800,000.

During the four fiscal years 1905-8, during Roosevelt's second term and under Postmasters General Cortelyou and Meyer, THE POSTAL DEFICIT AMOUNTED to \$48,739,639.34.

During 1909-12, during Taft's Administration and under Postmaster General Hitchcock, THIS POSTAL DEFICIT AGGREGATED \$24,937,657.40.

AND BUT FOR THE ABNORMAL CONDITIONS IN THE FISCAL YEAR 1915, WHEN THE EUROPEAN WAR CAUSED THE ONLY POSTAL DEFICIT RECORDED UNDER WILSON AND BURLESON, THE SURPLUS FOR THE FOUR YEARS WOULD HAVE AMOUNTED TO FROM FIFTEEN TO TWENTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. IT MAY AMOUNT TO FROM THIRTY TO FORTY MILLIONS DURING THE NEXT FOUR YEARS IF DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION IS CONTINUED.

In the year ending June 30, 1908, the number of miles of mail service rendered annually by the Postal Service, exclusive of that performed by city and rural carriers, was 538,438,722. In the year ending June 30, 1912, this figure was 578,165,266. AND IN THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1916, THIS ANNUAL MILEAGE OF MAIL SERVICE HAD BECOME 618,116,956.

Surpluses of \$3,800,000 and of \$3,500,000 were paid into the Treasury for the fiscal years 1913 and 1914, respectively, and the surplus for the last fiscal year ending June 30 is \$5,742,445. After annually recurring deficits, the Wilson Administration has put the Postal Service upon a self-sustaining basis.

THE SQUARE DEAL.

To provide equal service for everybody, to give the very best service everywhere, to eliminate "pull," privilege and waste all along the line—these have been the guiding rules of the Postal Establishment under Democratic control.

Private interests doing work for Uncle Sam have been required to give honest measure for honest pay,

Postal employees, of all grades, have been compelled to place efficiency of the service above all other considerations. There has been open, fair competition in the bidding upon all contracts for furnishing postal supplies and contractors have been required to live up to their contracts.

Principal officers of the great corporation which handles

*(See Special Article upon Parcel Post, page 259.)

all the huge mail-transfer service in Greater New York bribed postal clerks for paltry sums to alter the records so that the rich corporations could evade payment of penalties for failing to meet contract obligations.

The general manager of the company, one employee of the company and one post office employee were sent to the penitentiary. The company was purged of every officer and employee of the company to whom was attached the least suspicion. The company was fined \$50,000, sufficient to cover the losses of the Government.

The results of Postmaster General Burleson's administration of the Postal Savings System have been phenomenal. Under his guidance the number of depositors has increased from 310,000 at the beginning of March, 1913, to 603,000 at the end of June, 1916, while the amount deposited has increased during the same period from \$30,000,000 to \$86,000,000. The gain of nearly 50 per cent in the per capital deposit is convincing evidence of the prosperity of the working people of this country, who are the principal patrons of the postal savings banks.

HUGE GROWTH OF POSTAL SAVINGS.

Postmaster General Burleson urged upon Congress the necessity of removing the hindering restrictions imposed by the original postal savings act of June 25, 1910, on the amount that may be accepted from a postal savings depositor. In response to his recommendation an act was passed and received the approval of President Wilson on May 18, 1916, which enables any person to deposit any number of dollars, and at any time, until the balance to his or her credit amounts to \$1,000, exclusive of accumulated interest. By the terms of the original postal savings act no one could deposit more than \$100 in any one calendar month, nor have a balance to his credit in excess of \$500, exclusive of accumulated interest. As a result of these restrictions it has been estimated that as much money was refused at the post offices as was accepted. THE REMOVAL OF THE HINDERING RESTRICTIONS HAS BEEN FOLLOWED BY AN IMMEDIATE AND PRONOUNCED INCREASE IN POSTAL SAVINGS DEPOSITS, WHICH WILL ULTIMATE IN RESTORING A LARGE PART OF THE HIDDEN MONEY OF THE COUNTRY TO THE ACTIVE CHANNELS OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

Rapid progress has been made to secure stronger and safer mail cars. This tends to protect from death or injury the 21,000 railway mail clerks who are directly engaged in the railway transportation of mails.

Since March 4, 1913, 847 ALL-STEEL AND 203 STEEL UNDERFRAME FULL RAILWAY POST-OFFICE CARS, A TOTAL OF 1,050, HAVE BEEN PLACED IN SERVICE, and 223 wooden full railway post-office cars have been retired from service. Of a total of 1,411 full railway post-office cars, there are now but 361 full wooden cars up to the construction requirements of the Department, of which 337 are steel-reinforced.

Also, railway postal clerks are afforded the added protection granted by the new Liability Law which provides leave with pay for injuries sustained while on duty and relief for their relatives and legal representatives in case of death.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY.

When the present Democratic administration came into office, between 2,000 and 3,000 petitions from patrons living in the rural districts asking for the establishment of rural free delivery service were pending before the Postoffice Department. Today there are but 20 such petitions pending. Up to the close of 1915 there were authorized by the Postoffice Department under the Wilson administration a total of 8,942 new rural free delivery routes and extensions. It is a record without parallel in the postal administration of the country. More than 430,000 families have been accommodated with new or improved rural service between March 4, 1913, and March 31, 1916. Some of the conspicuous instances of the extension of the service where badly needed and with the number of families served are: California, 17,608 fami-

A PROGRESSIVE POSTAL POLICY

(From speech of Postmaster-General Albert S. Burleson before the Convention of the National Association of Postmasters of the United States July 18-21, 1916, at Washington, D. C.)

"ANY postmaster in this country, if he keeps step with the purpose of those in control here at Washington, will see to it that every method and device which will promote the efficiency of the Postal Service shall be resorted to and adopted. * * *

I don't want any expense spared when it comes to the question of promoting postal efficiency. * * *

Whereas postal efficiency is the dominant policy of this Administration, economy follows as a close second.

Cut off everything in the way of postal favoritism. We preached for years, those of you who belong to the political organization that I do, equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

There should be absolute equality in the Postal Service. It requires backbone to live up to this doctrine, but you know I am Scotch and carry a reasonable amount around with me."

lies; Illinois, 12,860; Indiana, 11,675; Iowa, 11,605; Kansas, 9,021; Michigan, 12,727; Minnesota, 14,650; Missouri, 25,844; Ohio, 21,526; Pennsylvania, 28,127; West Virginia, 10,718, and so through the list of states in the same liberal proportion.

REAL CIVIL SERVICE.

Under the Taft Administration 47,000 fourth-class postmasters, **ALTHOUGH ALL WERE POLITICAL AP-
POINTEES**, were covered into the classified civil service by executive order. This order was annulled by and provision made under Mr. Burleson for filling all fourth-class offices paying \$500 a year or more **BY COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION**. A limit was placed at \$500 because of the difficulty of obtaining an eligible list of at least three applicants in the very small towns. A genuine civil service has been introduced in lieu of a system which merely perpetuated a political regime.

Mail service to all of the belligerent nations of Europe has been maintained. Parcel post exchange with Germany and Austria was continued until last November, **WHEN THE ONLY STEAMSHIP LINES AVAILABLE REFUSED TO HANDLE THE BUSINESS**.

Extensions have been made in the international parcel post and money order systems which greatly improve the facilities of exchange between the United States and the countries of South and Central America. Parcel post and money order conventions have recently been negotiated with Brazil and Argentina, the two largest of the South American Republics. Five other new parcel post treaties have been put in operation.

Five treaties have been concluded establishing the two-cent letter rate from the United States to the Bahamas, Barbados, British Honduras, Dutch West Indies, and the Leeward Islands.

POSTAGE TO PAN-AMERICA.

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL IS VIGOROUSLY PUSHING NEGOTIATIONS TO OBTAIN TREATIES APPLYING THE TWO-CENT LETTER RATE THROUGHOUT THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. THE IMPROVEMENTS ALREADY MADE ARE MATERIALLY ASSISTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCE WITH THE LATIN-AMERICAN NATIONS.

A parcel post treaty with China has just been negotiated and became effective August 1. This will do much to help American trade expansion in the practically limitless field open among the 400,000,000 people of the Chinese Empire.

The Post Office Department is assisting materially in purifying the advertising columns of magazines and newspapers. It has joined heartily in the movement which tends to prevent acceptance by publishers of advertisements of a fraudulent nature.

**IN CONTRAST WITH THE LAX ATTITUDE OF THE TAFT ADMINISTRATION ON THE SUBJECT, THE FRAUD ORDER STATUTES HAVE BEEN REL-
LENTLESSLY ENFORCED AGAINST ALL FRAUDU-**

LENT ENTERPRISES WHICH USE THE MAILS IN THE CIRCULATION OF THEIR ADVERTISING "LITERATURE." During the last fiscal year 57 fraud orders were issued. In the same year 1,900 lottery schemes were barred from the mails.

NAVY DEPARTMENT

THE larger progressive work of the Navy Department is treated in the general article of "Preparedness," beginning upon page 198 of the Text Book.

Much else has been done which appropriately should be added to the story of democratic Efficiency—democratic with a small "d" and Efficiency with a large "E"—at Washington.

The Marine Corps during the Wilson administration, plus the strength authorized at the present session of Congress, is 35,548 men. This large increase since March, 1913, was made necessary to provide for the deficiencies that had existed since the Spanish-American War and to provide for the large increase in ships authorized by the Wilson administration. For the first time provision has been made for an organized and trained naval militia and an adequate reserve of men with experience afloat.

NEW GRADES OF OFFICERS.

The grades of Admiral and Vice-Admiral have been created, assuring commensurate rank for responsibilities of high command and placing American officers on equality with those of foreign navies holding similar positions.

It was found that the number of chaplains in the Navy two years ago was the same as the number authorized in 1841.

CONFIDENCE THE BUSINESS OXYGEN.

THE era of private business in the sense of business conducted with the money of the partners—I mean of the managing partners—is practically passed, not only in this country, but almost everywhere. Therefore, almost all business has this direct responsibility to the public in general: We owe a constant report to the public, whose money we are constantly asking for in order to conduct the business itself. Therefore, we have got to trade not only on our efficiency, not only on the service that we render, but on the confidence that we cultivate. There is a new atmosphere for business. The oxygen that the lungs of modern business takes in is the oxygen of the public confidence, and if you have not got that, your business is essentially paralyzed and asphyxiated.—President Wilson's Address at Conference of American Electric Railway Association, Washington, D. C., January 29, 1915.

The Navy had increased from 12,000 men to 51,500, but it had never been thought necessary to increase the number of chaplains in all that seventy-three years. Upon the recommendation of this administration a law was passed allowing one chaplain for every 1,250 men in the Navy, providing the spiritual leadership so necessary in a service composed largely of boys in their "teens" and young men in their early twenties. Soon there will be a chaplain on every large ship.

JACKIES BECOME OFFICERS.

Doors heretofore closed are now open to bluejackets. Under new legislation 25 enlisted men can now be appointed annually to the Naval Academy and qualify to rise from apprentice seaman to Admiral. Already 28 have been appointed and this new recognition has had a salutary effect throughout the entire Navy and made it truly American in spirit.

Fifteen enlisted men have been appointed as Assistant Paymaster, and 64 to the position of Pay Clerk, which grade, numbering over 200, will henceforth be exclusively filled by appointments from the ranks instead of by the personal appointments of pay officers. Thirteen enlisted men have been promoted to Ensign from the ranks during Wilson's 3 years as compared with three in Taft's 4 years.

Enlisted men are also eligible to the aviation corps and new schools have been opened for vocational education. Existing schools have been enlarged, giving opportunity for the best training to ambitious enlisted men who come into the Navy, with a chance to those of superior ability to earn promotion.

While the utmost care is exercised in accepting men for the Navy, causing the rejection of 5 out of every 6 applicants for physical, mental or moral reasons, the fact that the Wilson administration has been able to fill and keep the quota of enlistments full, that re-enlistments have increased from 52 per cent. to 85 per cent, that desertions have fallen off from 216 to less than 90 per month, that the number of prisoners have been reduced from 1,800 to 700 under improved penal systems, evidences the increased popularity and efficiency of the service.

INCREASE OF ENLISTED STRENGTH.

By providing instruction on every ship and by other means, the Wilson administration within three years added over 6,331 men to the enlisted strength of the Navy.

In no administration of the Navy Department has the training of officers or the preparation of the Fleet for battle been cared for so jealously and efficiently. The Naval War College, where high ranking officers are taught and practice problems in the science of strategy and tactics, had under Republican rule been permitted to degenerate, until in 1913 it had a class of five students and nine instructors.

Two courses at the College were established in April, 1914, and now 32 officers are taking the regular course while the new correspondence course is being taken by 499 officers. This new course brings the instruction and study of the War

College into close touch with the officers of the fleet. In his hearings before the House Naval Committee in February, 1916, Admiral Knight said: "The recent development of the War College, which has been rather striking, has been due in large measure to the interest which has been taken in it by our present Secretary of the Navy. The War College has been in existence since 1885, and during a large part of that time it has had to struggle for existence. Its ideals have always been high and its methods of work have always been admirable, but never until this present administration has it found any active aggressive support from the Navy Department. Very early in his administration, Mr. Daniels came to the War College. He saw at once what it was and what its possibilities were, and he said 'I am a friend of the War College.' From that time on he has done everything possible to support the War College and strengthen it, and the work that we are doing there now is very largely due to him."

The final test of a naval policy and naval administration is results. Nothing else counts. The Wilson administration presents concrete results. The target scores, war manoeuvres, and the incessant practice at ranges never before attempted tell the story of the improved efficiency of the fleet.

The report of the Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Fleet and the testimony of expert Navy Officers in their recent hearings before Congress emphasize the fact that the Navy

RIDICULING DANIELS.

"MR. SPEAKER, from time to time during this Congress we have read very bitter attacks made upon the Secretary of the Navy. It has been noticed, no doubt, that these attacks were general in their character. It is easy to say mean generalities about any man. It is easy to ridicule men. The charges against this man have all been general in their character. There has not been one single charge that specified anything dishonorable ever done by Josephus Daniels, now Secretary of the Navy.

"I wish that all the people of the United States knew this man as his home people know him. He is a clean man. He is a good man. He will never do anything dirty. Never in his life have his hands been soiled by dishonor, and I think I can properly bestow upon this loyal American the beautiful tribute bestowed by Secretary Thomas F. Bayard upon Mr. Cleveland—he presides over a typical American home, for around his fireside are gathered innocent and guileless childhood, gracious and refined womanhood, lofty integrity and perfect manhood."—Representative E. W. Pou, of North Carolina, to the House, July 27, 1916.

is recovering in target practice from the slump from 1909 to 1913.

The navy now makes all its own mines at a saving of \$145 on each. In smaller economies of various kinds \$2,000,000 was saved, of which, in 1915, \$1,000,000 was reappropriated by Congress for aeronautics and \$800,000 for submarines. The old "misfit" battleships Mississippi and Idaho were sold after about 6½ years of service for \$12,535,275.96, the original cost price of both together, and, with \$2,000,000 additional, appropriated by Congress, a modern new dreadnaught, the Mississippi, now building at Newport News, was added to the navy. As the result of carefully watching the transportation expenses of the enlisted men between naval stations and ships, a saving of \$176,643.56 was effected.

The number of employees in the Navy yards of the United States is 7,485 more than when the Wilson administration came into power. The increased amount of pay to navy yard employees during this period is \$27,063.77. The average pay per day for employees in 1912 was \$2,723 as compared with \$2.997 in 1916, an increase of pay of \$0.274 per day.

WAR DEPARTMENT

The War Department under the Wilson Administration has made itself more useful to the country, inaugurated and accomplished more constructive and reform work than during any twenty years of its previous history. Its handling of the troops in and out of Vera Cruz and rapid, efficient mobilization and equipment of the National Guard on the Mexican border show greatly to advantage over the slow mobilization and inadequate equipment at the outset of the Spanish-American war.

The results of the Department's fruitful work in aiding preparedness plans to effective completion as regards army matters appear in the article upon the general subject of preparedness, page 198. Efficient administration, however, has been reflected in many other particulars.

Chief among actual military movements during the past three years is the maintenance of the Mexican border patrol, sustained over approximately 1,700 miles, and the dispatch of the punitive expedition into Mexico under General Pershing. These large movements have been carried out smoothly and quickly. Supplies have been provided in ample quantities and good quality, promptly—distinctly an achievement. The border patrol has been maintained by the regulars throughout the Wilson Administration.

RECRUITING IMPROVED.

Since March 4, 1913, the recruiting service of the army has been greatly improved. The total enlistments was increased from 25,086 for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1912, to 48,813 for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1915.

Economies have been introduced in the purchase of fuel

PATIENCE PRODUCED PEACE

From the New York Times (Ind.).

" * * * WHAT STANDING HAVE THE REPUBLICANS TO DENOUNCE THE WILSON POLICIES AS 'WEAK AND VACILLATING' WHEN 14 REPUBLICAN SENATORS AND 102 REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE VOTED AGAINST TABLING THE GORE AND McLEMORE RESOLUTIONS THAT, IF PASSED, WOULD HAVE FORCED A COMPLETE SURRENDER OF THE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN PASSENGERS UPON THE SEA? * * * THERE IS NO HOPE FOR THE REPUBLICANS IN THAT QUARTER. IF THERE IS ANY ONE GROUND UPON WHICH THE PRESIDENT HAS WON TITLE TO AND POSSESSION OF THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE IT IS HIS AVOIDANCE OF WAR. WITH PATIENCE AND ABILITY HE HAS PERSISTED IN THE USE OF THE PEACEFUL RESOURCES OF DIPLOMACY AND NEGOTIATION WHERE A HOTHEAD IN THE WHITE HOUSE MIGHT, AND PROBABLY WOULD, HAVE INVOLVED THE NATION IN THE EUROPEAN CONFLICT. * * * YET IF WE TAKE FROM THE REPUBLICANS THE ISSUE GROWING OUT OF THE WAR, WHAT HAVE THEY LEFT? * * * THE COUNTRY'S EXPERIENCE OF PROSPERITY UNDER THE DEMOCRATIC TARIFF WILL NOT INCLINE IT TO VOTE FOR AN IMMEDIATE RETURN OF THE EXCESSIVE IMPOSTS AND GRANTS OF PROFIT AND PRIVILEGE WHICH THE REPUBLICANS WILL INSIST ARE NECESSARY TO KEEP THE FACTORIES GOING. * * * MORE AND MORE AS THE CAMPAIGN ADVANCES THEY WILL BE CONFRONTED BY THE DIFFICULTY OF MAKING A FIGHT WITHOUT PRESENTABLE ISSUES. THEY WILL BE REDUCED TO THE NECESSITY OF CARRYING ON A CAMPAIGN MERELY FOR THE CHANGE OF MEN AND OF PARTY NAMES WITHOUT BEING ABLE TO FIND CONVINCING REASONS FOR MAKING IT."

amounting to \$100,000 a year. Better quarters have been secured at army posts for officers and enlisted men. Better system has effected savings in the purchase of clothing and equipment. Better transportation facilities have been introduced; motors bought and motor truck companies organized;

and since the Pershing expedition entered Mexico, the Department has supplied approximately 2,600 motor trucks for carrying supplies.

An important start towards organizing an adequate aviation service has been made. Large quantities of equipment and supplies for the increased army and of the federalized National Guard have been produced and steps are being taken to maintain a stock of essential supplies to equip a large army in the event of war.

Close co-operation with industrial concerns and railroads has brought about quick work. Freight shipments have been put through from Washington to the Texas border in four days; from Philadelphia to San Antonio in 78 hours; from the Great Lakes to the border in 48 hours. The War and Agriculture Departments have worked out a plan for encouraging breeding of horses for the army.

Quietly the National Guard has been placed in a position in which it could be, as proven during the past few months, of effective service when called upon. The work of regeneration had not been completed when the call to duty came but they were so much better prepared than they would have been if left to continue under the old conditions and control that the entire country can well feel proud of their performance. A recent report by the Chief of the Militia Bureau to the Chief of Staff of the Army, extracts of which are given below, amply prove Democratic efficiency and Republican neglect.

REGENERATION OF MILITIA.

The first definite steps taken for the complete enforcement of the Militia Law of 1903 were taken in connection with the inspections held in 1913. During the preceding ten years, opportunity and encouragement had been held out to the Organized Militia to conform to the standard of efficiency established by the law.

Under the Militia Law of 1903, the powers of the War Department were largely advisory, and the only means of enforcing its policies was the withholding of Federal funds allotted to the States. Under the more extensive powers conferred on the War Department by the National Defense Act of 1916, it will be possible to extend the scope of the policies inaugurated and to exercise a degree of control over the development of the National Guard that has heretofore not been possible.

ARMY'S BATTLES OF PEACE.

Many, in fact a majority, of the people look upon the army as merely a machine for killing people but the American army under Woodrow Wilson has been quite as useful during peaceful times as during war. At Vera Cruz the great

efficiency of the regular army was fully demonstrated in ways other than that of fighting. The American army men transformed what was once a yellow fever hotbed and a pest-hole of tropical diseases into one of the cleanest and healthiest cities on the continent.

When the Mississippi River flooded all of the surrounding country inundating hundreds of square miles of land and making thousands homeless in 1913 and 1914, the Army was called upon and within 48 hours was on the job bringing order out of chaos, providing food and shelter and relieving distress. They applied army sanitation methods to the huge refugee camps and prevented epidemics more deadly than flood waters.

After the San Francisco earthquake the army men came out of the ruins of their own barracks and took charge of the situation during those awful times. Their splendid service will ever remain a grateful memory to the men and women of the great Western city.

The army authorities had full charge of the great encampment of the 55,000 Union and Confederate veterans upon the 50th anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg in July, 1914. Advanced calculations indicated that there would be at least 30 deaths during this four days of reunion for these were old men and the encampment was held during a period of torrid weather. Thirty coffins were provided but only eight were used.

PANAMA CANAL.

During the Wilson Administration the Panama Canal has been opened to commerce and by the passage of vessels through the great waterway the dream of centuries has become a reality. Commercial traffic between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans was inaugurated on Saturday, August 15, 1914, by the Government Steamship "Ancon," which made the trip from entrance to entrance in approximately nine hours, well within the time previously estimated for the passage of a ship through the Canal. September 18, 1915, a slide at Culebra caused a complete suspension of Canal traffic. April 15, 1916, the Canal was reopened to commerce. The prospect of the waterway being again blocked by slides seems to be very remote. On April 1, 1914, the supervision of Canal matters was placed under the control of the Governor of The Panama Canal in place of the seven-headed commission theretofore existing.

The Wine Mess

Secretary Long, under McKinley's administration, issued an order forbidding the sale of alcoholic liquors to enlisted men. On July 1, 1914, Secretary Daniels issued an order abolishing the wine mess on board all ships and stations of the United States Navy. That order made the same rule apply to officers as already applied to enlisted men.

The criticism which the wine mess order received ended when foreign countries followed the example of the United States, and in our Navy it has come to be regarded by officers, who at first objected to it, as a wise regulation.

MILITARISM IMPOSSIBLE HERE.

The Spirit That Breeds It Cannot Live in American Air.

You know that the chief thing that is holding many people back from enthusiasm for what is called preparedness is the fear of militarism. I want to say a word to you young gentlemen about militarism. You are not a militarist because you are military. Militarism does not consist in the existence of an Army, not even in the existence of a very great army. Militarism is a spirit. It is a point of view. It is a system. It is a purpose. The purpose of militarism is to use armies for aggression. The spirit of militarism is the opposite of the civilian spirit, the citizen spirit. In a country where militarism prevails the military man looks down upon the civilian, regards him as inferior, thinks of him as intended for his, the military man's, support and use; and just so long as America is America that spirit and point of view is impossible with us. There is as yet in this country, as far as I can discover, no taint of the spirit of militarism.—From President Wilson's Address to West Point Graduating Class, June 13, 1916.

***COMMERCE DEPARTMENT**

FOUR years ago what is now the Department of Commerce was a group of scattered parts. Today it is an efficient, united family of public services coherent and co-operating in a common work.

Four years ago the equipment for vital work of the Department was in many ways pitifully inadequate.

The lighthouse vessels were in good repair and active use but none had wireless. Some of the Coast and Geodetic Survey steamers, both on Pacific and Atlantic, were venerable wrecks, menacing the lives of those using them and performing the minimum of work at the maximum cost. Three are now condemned and sold.

The inspection of the fisheries of Alaska had long been farcical. The service owned no boat in those waters and borrowed from those persons to be inspected the means for the inspection. This would please Dickens or Mark Twain, but was hardly serious business.

The foreign commercial service was inchoate and undermanned. The Steamboat-Inspection Service was sadly short of needed men. The Census was housed in a wretched old

*(The work of the Department of Commerce in promoting foreign trade is more completely described in the article upon Foreign Trade, page 361.)

barn desperately hot in summer and wholly unfit all the time.

There was one small motor launch to enforce the navigation laws on all our shores. The Bureau of Standards was without the fine electrical and chemical laboratories since erected.

PROPER TOOLS SUPPLIED.

Ships, buildings, apparatus, men, the proper tools for the work, have been secured by the Wilson Administration Secretary Redfield said recently:

"I wanted that whole great organization to be all shot through with the idea that it was a servant, a real living servant of American commerce. All the eight services were to know that each must definitely and actively contribute to that service. There was something each could do and they must do it. Passive routine would not be tolerated. Here was a second task; having the means to work to get the spirit. This done, then from both to get results, good results that could not be ignored or denied, that would be definite and clear cut services that others could not render but which we did.

"This, too, has been accomplished. The appeal would be to a thousand business offices and show in ten thousand items of service."

The coast of Alaska was dangerous, ill-lighted, unsurveyed. It had taken a horrible toll of ships and lives and cargoes. Insurance rates were exalted. The development of the territory was diminished. It was well to build a railway in Alaska, but quite desirable to make it safe for a vessel to reach the railway. So, new and better aids to Alaskan navigation, more buoys, more lights and fine new lighthouse on deadly Cape St. Milas, were installed by the Wilson Administration. So, also, the new lighthouse steamer Cedar, the largest and best we have, designed and built with special reference to Alaskan service, was put in service. So, also, new surveys of Alaskan waters were made, and this time with the wire-drag which no rock pinnacle can escape. It laid its unerring finger on forty or more menaces to ships, none of which were known before.

DEVELOPING THE FISHERIES.

Fisheries are an important business enterprise. Those of Alaska produce over \$16,000,000 in annual value of salmon alone. The steamer Roosevelt, two new sea-going launches and the small steamer Osprey put this service in Alaska into a more effectively helpful form than ever before. And the Department of Commerce has created an entirely new business that in eight months has put over \$200,000 in the pockets of fishermen from a new source, furnishes wholesale and retail dealers with a sale in a like period of over four million pounds of a new fish food and keeps twenty vessels productively busy at a time when they otherwise would be idle. All this and more has resulted from the establishment by our Fisheries Service of a market for tile fish.

Harbors like New York, Boston and Portland (Maine)

have been searched with the wire-drag and unknown dangers in each brought to light. On all our shores the ceaseless guard of a thousand lights now goes on, expanding in number, in quality, in usefulness as new appliances are constantly brought into service. The Lighthouse Service and the Coast and Geodetic Survey are two great guardians of our water-borne trade. They were never as earnest and as useful as now they are.

AIDING SCIENCE TO AID INDUSTRY.

The Great Bureau of Standards under Woodrow Wilson has been put in direct touch with the business world. It is attacking and solving problems which underlie our industries, our railways, and our public utilities. To it come with their problems men in every industry. From it now goes out a literal flood of light to clear away industrial darkness, to stop industrial waste, to add to commercial power. More than a few business houses there are who would on call rise up and call the Bureau of Standards blessed. It directly enhances our foreign trade and safeguards our domestic trade. No one informed of its fruitful work would longer prattle about government "hostility to business."

The direct and productive work of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is known to all men. Few who know its work fail to recognize its practical value. A manufacturer whom it aided to secure an order worth nearly a million was glad to say it was "a wonderful job." From every side, from all lands, from men of all opinions come unsolicited thanks and appreciation.

DRUMMING UP TRADE.

Six lines were printed in the form of a "Trade Opportunity" in the daily "Commerce Reports," and new orders were obtained from a Portuguese firm to American producers aggregating over \$100,000.

A suggestion was made by a Commercial Attache to a European monarch and a preferential tax working against America was removed and orders for many thousand tons of coal followed. A new market has thus been opened.

In South America a Commercial Attache co-operated with large American interests and a new smelting industry was brought to the United States. By it credits were opened here permitting foreign purchases heretofore impossible.

In Asia a Commercial Attache co-operated with an American salesman, and orders for the machinery equipment of two cotton mills resulted.

A Department circular brought to a Southern City a large order for hospital equipment from her Majesty, Queen Olga of Greece.

The facilities of the service in New York were put at the disposal of a visiting Russian buyer, who placed an order for 40,000 bales of cotton per annum for five years.

An Australian buyer landing on our West Coast was met by salesmen on his arrival, through the advance action of the service; he bought double the amount he had expected to purchase in America.

Information gained in Central America through a traveling "special agent" provided new sources of logwood supply for an American industry requiring that product.

CENSUS EFFICIENCY INCREASED.

In the Census service development has been on lines of greater punctuality in publishing collected facts. The results of the Census of Manufactures taken as of December 31, 1914, were long ago in large part printed and are far in advance of previous records. The work also is branching out into new fields of facts needing to be known. The same spirit, the same ideal of service is here that our other services show.

THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT

A PROGRESSIVE POLICY of action which at once protects the public interest and opens many important fields of opportunity to private enterprise has characterized the administration of the Department of the Interior under President Wilson. There has been forward movements in every one of the great bureaus of this department and in no instance—in marked contrast with recent Republican administration of these same agencies—has there arisen the hint, much less the formulated charge, of a vicious motive or questionable conduct.

The Interior Department, under Woodrow Wilson and Secretary Lane, has:

Opened up the West and Alaska.

*Advanced the cause of conservation.

Made the National Parks in fact the "Playgrounds of America."

Contributed to solution of the gasoline question.

Reorganized the Indian Service along lines that greatly enhance its utility to the Indians and the country.

Made the Bureau of Education an enlarged and more practical agency for the improvement of the nation's schools.

Inaugurated a "Safety First" campaign which has much reduced the annual loss of life in mine disasters.

ENLARGED HOMESTEADS.

Farmers can now have 320 acres of Government land for "Dry Farming" purposes, by reason of the cooperation of this administration, and in consequence acreage devoted to wheat growing in the Western States has increased fully fifty per cent. Since March 4, 1913, the total area, which has been designated as open to 320-acre entry, reaches the huge total of 75,000,000 acres.

Bona fide settlers have been taking up the public domain instead of "dummy entrymen" that for so many years made the Land Office the center of national scandals. Under Wilson the time consumed in acting upon final proofs for homesteads has been reduced fully fifty per cent.

*(See special article on conservation, page 351.)

Delays of approximately six months in acting on applications for land surveys have been entirely eliminated. The abuses of the Carey and Desert Land Acts were for years notorious. A different state of affairs exists and the law is enforced.

At the beginning of President Wilson's term more than 65,000,000 acres of public lands were under withdrawal from the public use. In the past three years more than 20,000,000 acres, or nearly one-third of the total, have been restored to public entry.

LANDS OPENED.

The States affected by this action and the acreage in each that has been withdrawn and restored during the present administration are indicated in the following table:

State	Withdrawals			Outstanding on June 30 1916
	Outstanding on Mar. 4, 1913	from Mar. 4, 1913, to June 30, 1916	Restorations from Mar. 4, 1913, to June 30, 1916	
Arizona.....	118,718	.. .. .	.. .. .	118,718
California.....	239,903	.. .. .	222,260	17,643
Colorado.....	7,489,450	37,651	2,904,352	4,622,749
Idaho.....	1,299,687	.. .. .	961,235	338,452
Montana....	17,169,888	230,301	6,268,472	11,131,717
Nevada.....	91,341	.. .. .	7,508	83,833
New Mexico..	5,739,367	352,933	382,540	5,709,760
North Dakota..	17,320,259	.. .. .	2,462,917	14,857,342
Oregon....	26,561	.. .. .	22,200	4,361
South Dakota..	610,754	.. .. .	610,754	.. .. .
Utah.....	6,431,963	47,779	1,053,012	5,426,730
Washington...	2,206,030	.. .. .	1,358,775	847,255
Wyoming.....	6,666,543	.. .. .	3,889,149	2,777,394
Totals....	65,410,464	668,664	20,143,174	45,935,954

Lands in California and Oregon, estimated to be worth between thirty and fifty million dollars, which had been granted to the Oregon & California Railroad Company in 1870, have been recovered for the public, because of the failure of that company to abide by the provisions of its grant. More than 4,200,000 acres had been given the company, and the Government had provided that these lands should be sold to actual settlers at not exceeding \$2.50 per acre. A few tracts were sold at this price but the company soon withdrew the lands from sale, and only sold to timber purchasers in large bodies and at prices far in excess of that authorized by the grant. The Wilson administration took the matter in hand, and enacted legislation so that the railroad company will receive for the unsold 2,300,000 acres just \$2.50 per acre, "all the value the granting act conferred upon it," and the lands revert in the United States.

GASOLINE DISCOVERY.

When the price of gasoline was booming skyward last spring, Secretary Lane came forward with the welcome news that Dr. Walter F. Rittman, one of the chemists in the

Bureau of Mines, had devised a process whereby refiners can obtain from crude oils 200 per cent. more gasoline than was obtainable by old methods.

Cancer has been exacting a toll of 75,000 human lives every year in the United States. Now the Interior Department has developed a process whereby radium, believed to be efficient in curing cancer, can be produced at the comparatively low cost of \$37,000 per gram. The market price of radium has been \$120,000 per gram. Already as the result of this discovery two great hospitals in this country have been enabled to obtain adequate radium for use in the treatment of cancer.

END OF INDIAN SCANDALS.

Time was not so very long ago when "Trimming the Indians" was a conspicuous feature of the yearly grind of the federal machinery. Scandal followed scandal under Republican administrations in the Indian Bureau. Under the Wilson administration there has not been a whisper of scandal.

The Indian babies in Oklahoma nearly all have estates. In the past three years 2,584 delinquent guardians have been removed, and in the past year alone \$1,800,000 in property has been recovered for these minors.

The system of teaching the Indians has been revolutionized. Vocational training has been introduced and it is conceded that the Indian schools now rank as the best of vocational institutions in the country. These schools formerly had conspicuously failed to give Indian youths the practical training needed.

Where inadequacy and loose methods prevailed in the past in the administration of the Indian Bureau, today efficiency and honesty safeguards the Indian and his resources. Because of the more intelligent and bona fide interest in the welfare of the Indians, and the energetic application of scientific means of sanitation and education among them, the Indian population has increased from 300,930 in 1913, to 309,911 in 1915, whereas under preceding administrations it was reported that the Indians were slowly but surely dying out. The value of free rations issued to Indians has decreased from \$330,852 in 1913, to \$267,472 in 1915, notwithstanding the increase in their number.

There are now 30,277 Indians engaged in active farming as against 27,311 in 1913, when the Wilson administration came into power. There are 642,843 acres of land being cultivated by them today while their best record under the Taft administration was 490,951 acres, and the value of their crops has increased about \$700,000.

NATIONAL PARKS SERVICE.

For the first time in our history the national parks have become what they were intended to be—the playgrounds of the people. The number of visitors to the parks last year was more than doubled. Heretofore no automobiles have been allowed in the parks; now every park is open to automobiles. New hotels and camps are going up in all the

parks. In the last two years two new parks have been added to the Government's chain of parks—one in Colorado, the Rocky Mountain Park, which contains thirteen mountains over 14,000 feet high; and the first park east of the Mississippi River, a tract of 5,000 acres donated to the Government on Mount Desert, Maine.

Congress has passed a Park Administration Bill creating a bureau under which the parks will in future be administered with that seriousness which their value deserves.

EDUCATIONAL WORK EXPANDED.

The Government's Bureau of Education has been given new life and new hope under the Wilson administration.

Special attention has been given to rural schools, and a reading circle for rural teachers has been established in 42 States.

So successful has been the work of this administration in its educational work among the foreign element that the National Educational Association, the official organ of the teaching profession, recently adopted resolutions expressing its approval and requesting that it be extended.

Two years ago the establishment of "home gardens" under the direction of public schools, was effected, and as a result 50,000 children are cultivating backyard gardens and earning as much money as if they were employed in factories instead of out in the fresh air and sunshine after school hours.

The first comprehensive study ever made of the educational provision for colored people in the United States, has just been brought to a successful completion after a diligent investigation of three years, and it is certain that discoveries made and the information gleaned will have important bearing on the development of educational institutions, both for colored and whites.

MINES SERVICE ACTIVE.

In 1915 the fatality rate in the coal mines in the United States was the lowest recorded for twenty years. During the three years, 1910-11-12, there were 46 disasters in coal mines in this country, in each of which five or more men were killed at one time; while during the period from 1913 to 1915, there were but 30 such disasters. This was due to the "Safety First" campaign carried on by the Wilson administration in the interest of the miners. The present Congress appropriated \$101,500 for the establishment of three new mine-safety stations, which will be located at Butte, Montana; Reno, Nevada, and Raton, New Mexico. They will be manned by expert crews of life-savers. There are eight other mine-safety stations and eight mine rescue cars.

Because of the increased efficiency in the Bureau of Mines, the number of deaths by accidents in coal mines has decreased from five per one thousand workmen in 1907, to three per thousand workmen in 1915. Twenty-two States now have Workmen's Compensation laws as the result of the activities of the Bureau of Mines.

For irrigation purposes \$36,165,420 has been expended in

the last three years as against a total of \$81,750,288 expended in the preceding ten years. This year, 1916, \$13,000,000 additional will be expended. Cooperation between irrigationists and the Government inaugurated in place of a policy of Federal domination on irrigation projects. Right has been granted farmers to take over the operation and management of irrigation projects under rules that protect the Government's rights therein, and giving preference in employment to users of the irrigation waters.

AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT

NOT ONLY has a great task of physical reorganization of the personnel and vast public agencies of the Department of Agriculture been successfully carried out along businesslike lines under Woodrow Wilson, but in addition—a still greater work—the science of farming has been made a useful, almost everyday thing among the farmers of the country instead of a faraway pursuit engaged in by a few men on Uncle Sam's payroll.

Elsewhere in the Text Book, upon page 311, a special article deals with the constructive legislative programme put through under Woodrow Wilson and the larger administrative work of carrying it out. Still other articles deal particularly with the rural credits and good roads acts. There remain facts aplenty going to show grasp, thoroughness and efficiency ample to satisfy the most hopeless partisan, including Mr. Hughes. To tell the whole story is impossible within the limits of one article or one book—but here's a part of it:

DEMONSTRATORS NUMBER 770,000.

Seven hundred and seventy thousand persons, a large majority of whom are successful farmers, are now cooperating directly with the U. S. Department of Agriculture in its experimental work and in demonstrating the usefulness of its discoveries to their communities. The Department has been made in the past three years a great and effective clearing house of practical agricultural information. These persons aid the Department, and through it promote profitable agriculture by furnishing the Department's information to their neighbors and communities, by demonstrating on their own farms the local usefulness of new methods, by testing out in a practical way the theories which the Department's specialists are investigating, by growing on a large scale the new crops recommended, and by reporting on local conditions; by helping, in short, in almost every conceivable way to increase the knowledge of the Department and to place that knowledge at the service of the people.

The great grain-raising section has been materially assisted by the introduction of important new varieties of wheat, oats and barley.

When the cutting off of the supply of imported sugar-beet seed in 1915 threatened our sugar-beet industry, the Department of Agriculture, through the State Department, was able

to arrange for the importation of the 1915 supply of sugar-beet seed in time for planting. The lack of imported seed threatened to be even more serious in 1916, but again the administration's negotiations were successful, and 15,000 sacks, valued at approximately \$150,000, were secured on condition that the seed be consigned to the Secretary of Agriculture for use only in this country.

Fruit growers have been aided to escape the tremendous losses in fruits shipped long distances, because the Department has developed better methods of storing, packing and shipping, especially in the case of apples in the East and Northwest.

Rigidly enforced plant quarantines have kept out of this country the highly destructive downy mildew of corn, which if introduced would work havoc to that crop in the Mississippi Valley, and the Mediterranean fruit fly, which, if it got a foothold in this country, would cripple our citrus fruit industry. The control of insects destructive to farm and field crops has received special attention. In New England

REWRITING JUSTICE.

(From Speech of Thomas R. Marshall.)

THERE are those who believe—and I include myself in the number—that the real statutes of a people are not written in books of statutes but that they are written upon the hearts and consciences of mankind. The most constructive of the work of the Wilson Administration has been the rewriting on the minds and hearts of the American people of that statute which declares that nothing pays permanently which is not just, and that statute has been written upon the hearts and minds of men of both high and low degree. Voluntarily, interlocking directories are disappearing. Corporation managers are scrutinizing their business affairs, not for the purpose any longer of putting them exclusively to the touch of profit, but for the purpose of considering them in the light of right and wrong. The withdrawal of Mr. Morgan and his partners from the directorates of twenty-seven different corporations has been followed by like conduct upon the part of other men. The voluntary dissolutions of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company and of other well-known corporations, reveal the new corporate attitude, which is, that business is no longer just business,—that now, it is justice as well as success. It may have been thought when the Wilson Administration came into power that there would be nothing more than a shifting of the benefits of government from certain favored persons to other favored persons, but the lobby investigation promptly disillusioned prospective beneficiaries as well as the public. From the very beginning, the legislative business of the Wilson Administration, whether wise or foolish, has been conducted without a trace of suspicion that any motive was the source of inspiration save the motive to promote the common welfare.

the spread of the gipsy and brown-tail moths has been greatly retarded and much progress made in eradicating these pests in infested territory.

Onion growers in Indiana alone state that the work done by the Department of Agriculture in connection with onion thrips has been the means of saving \$1,000,000 on that crop.

The study of fertilizers has received particular attention. Efforts are being made to develop domestic sources of potash, nitrogen and phosphate. The manufacture of nitrogen, particularly the fixation of nitrogen from the air by electrical processes, has been investigated and an apparatus and process for extracting nitrogen from garbage and other wastes have been proposed.

In stock raising, dairying and poultry production the Department during this administration has bent every effort toward increasing the meat supply of the Nation and at the same time making more profitable the production of animal foodstuffs on the small farm as well as on the large ranch.

The direct attack of the Department on the problem has been twofold: First, the devising and demonstrating of new and better methods of handling beef animals, dairy cattle, hogs and poultry; and, second, through the systematic conduct of highly successful campaigns for the eradication of animal diseases.

ANIMAL DISEASES FOUGHT.

The campaign which resulted in the eradication of foot-and-mouth disease from the United States within a comparatively short period has set for the world a new standard of efficiency for the control of a highly contagious animal disease. Hog cholera was costing the nation over \$75,000,000 a year and greatly reducing one of its natural sources of meat food. The present administration appropriated \$600,000 to be used in demonstrating methods of controlling this disease of swine, and now hog raisers throughout the country have been shown that they can save from 85 to 90 per cent. of their animals if they will use the serum treatment as a preventive measure.

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE, REPUBLICAN,
SAID AT THE OPENING OF THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION:

"NO WORDS OF MR. HUGHES AFTER NOMINATION CAN IN THE SMALLEST DEGREE REMOVE THE IMPRESSION THAT WILL PREVAIL THAT HE WAS WILLING TO WIN THE NOMINATION BY HYPHEN AID. * * * THE TRIBUNE DOES NOT BELIEVE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WILL EVER RATIFY SUCH A BARGAIN OR ACCEPT A CANDIDATE NOMINATED UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES. * * * IT WILL FORCE THE RE-ELECTION OF MR. WILSON."

The farmers on the Government reclamation projects have received special assistance from this administration, particularly through demonstrations which are leading to the establishment of profitable dairying and cattle and swine raising industries essential to the prosperity of these farms. Particular attention to the development of pig clubs among farm boys and girls. These clubs have grown from a membership of 2,000 in 2 States in 1913 to 20,000 in 13 States in 1916. The poultry clubs, which have for their object the encouragement of chicken and egg production, have grown to 8,500 members in 7 states.

The Office of Markets and Rural Organization has been developed on practical and constructive lines and, though only two years old, is already of great service to the American people, including all classes from the farmer to the consumer. Its establishment marked the first definite step toward the solution of the difficult problems confronting the farmer in the marketing of his products—a phase of agriculture which theretofore had been relatively neglected.

GOVERNMENT NEWS SERVICE.

During the summer and fall of 1915 an experimental telegraphic market news service was conducted for four products, strawberries, cantaloupes, peaches and pears, in all areas of market production, to determine the possibility of establishing a nation-wide market news service on fruits and vegetables. The effort was a success. Congress has just appropriated \$136,600 for the extension of this work. This will enable the Department to give the growers or shippers of numerous other fruits and vegetables accurate daily telegraphic reports of practically all car-lot shipments made; the destination of the produce; the prices prevailing in the larger markets; and a statement of the quantities offered on each market.

The federal meat inspection has been widely extended and made vastly more efficient than hitherto through the liberal increase in appropriations provided by this administration, and particularly through the drafting of new and more stringent regulations, which make it impossible for doubtful or diseased meat or meat products to enter into interstate or foreign commerce.

Sixty per cent. of the meat produced in the United States is now slaughtered, handled, and packed under the unremitting supervision of trained Government specialists.

The Food and Drugs Act, prohibiting the adulteration and misbranding of these products in interstate commerce; the Sherley Amendment, prohibiting manufacturers from making false and misleading claims as to the efficacy of patent medicines; and the Net Weight Amendment, requiring an accurate statement of the quantity of the contents of foods and drugs in packages, have been vigorously enforced with full protection to the health of the consumer, and have prevented swindling without unnecessary interference with the food industry. The misleading guaranty legend, which long has given consumers the false idea that the Government in some

way had examined and certified to the excellence of the food or drugs so labeled, has been abolished.

Close and effective cooperation has been established between the Department and the State food, dairy and drug officials. This has resulted in the more harmonious and effective enforcement of Federal and State food laws and has made possible effective joint campaigns to lessen the interstate traffic in bad milk and eggs, adulterated stock foods, and oysters and meat unfit for human consumption.

To increase the supply and lessen the cost of pure food, active assistance and cooperation have been given to manufacturers and handlers of food by helping them to avoid waste and spoilage, save valuable by-products, and ship certain perishable foods longer distances.

IMPROVED WEATHER SERVICE.

Early in the administration the Weather Bureau was reorganized and changes were made for reducing expenses, eliminating duplications between Federal departments and restoring that bureau strictly to its field of scientific usefulness from which at one time it had departed. Special weather warning reports are now issued so that they will reach stock and sheep raisers of the West, and the farmers and fruit growers in the important fruit, truck, cotton, wheat, corn, sugar, rice, tobacco and broom-corn districts in time to enable them to protect their produce from weather damage. To protect life and property at sea and along the coast, special arrangements have been made for the early detection of storms.

THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OF ITSELF the existence of the Department of Labor, a separate entity within the Government consecrated to the study and solution of Labor's problems, stands as a conspicuous memorial to the incompetence and indisposition of the Republican Party to meet the demands of this forward-moving age. It was created by the Democratic majority in the House during the Sixty-second Congress and a combination of Democratic and progressive Republican votes in the Senate. It was organized and has been expanded to its present proportions as a great public service utility by the Wilson Administration.

Upon its creation the new department took over the activities which are comprised within the Bureaus of Immigration, Naturalization, and Labor Statistics, as well as the Children's Bureau, and a distinctly new function for the Federal Government—that of mediation in labor disputes. The very purpose which led to the creation of this new agency of government, to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage earners and to improve their opportunities for profitable employment, contemplated a sympathetic administration of the instrumentalities of government placed at its disposal, and this expectation has been fulfilled.

EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES.

To bring the jobless man and the manless job together is one of the chief ends which the Department of Labor has undertaken to attain. This has involved the establishment of a country-wide system of employment agencies.

The problem of unemployment is generally recognized as one of the most perplexing of the day. How to so co-ordinate the existent agencies of government as to make known to the toiler without work where he can find profitable employment is a question which has long baffled many of our ablest minds.

To the Department of Labor belongs the full credit for having demonstrated the practicability of the idea by the establishment throughout the nation of a chain of seventy-eight branches, which are performing that most useful function of bringing man and job together. The co-operation of various other Federal agencies, as well as State and municipal offices, has been secured, and there has thus been perfected the most elaborate and stupendous system to be found in any country in the world.

The farmers of the country were quick to avail themselves of the Department's services. The month of May, 1914, witnessed a great shortage of harvest hands throughout the States of Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri and South Dakota. Without delay the Department brought this situation to the attention of the unemployed throughout the country, and in a surprisingly short space of time some 75,000 men were directed to employment, with the result that the crop was harvested in due season and thousands of workmen were given profitable employment.

Another striking example of the invaluable assistance which the Department has rendered through this medium was presented in connection with the disastrous fire which occurred at Salem, Massachusetts, in June, 1914. As a result of this catastrophe, 3,500 persons had been deprived of the means of a livelihood. The Department conducted a thorough canvass of the industrial situation along the Atlantic seaboard, and almost immediately secured positions for half this number, and it has performed equally efficient, if not quite as spectacular work ever since. In all, some 257,054 persons have been directed to employment, with a resultant benefit to the community at large which it would be difficult to over-estimate.

Through the Bureau of Labor Statistics the Department of Labor is not only collecting data concerning wages and hours of labor in the most important industries, but it has materially broadened the scope and humanized the purely statistical information to which these investigations hitherto had been confined. It is keeping the people of our country advised upon the fluctuations in the wholesale and retail prices, is sympathetically administering the Federal Compensation Law, and for the first time in the history of our Government it is investigating the prevailing rates of wages in the vicinity of Government plants to determine accurately the rates of

compensation which should be paid to various classes of mechanics or laborers employed in Government works.

Throughout the various immigration stations of the country much in the way of improving the facilities for the reception of the newcomer to our shores has been accomplished. Careful supervision is exercised over unaccompanied women and girls to guard them from the perils which constantly beset the unsophisticated, and the closest attention is paid to the physical comfort and well-being of those in detention.

Nor has the interest of the Department been permitted to end with the passing of the immigrant through our gates. The Bureau of Naturalization is directing a campaign of education with a view to preparing those aliens who have signified their intention of becoming citizens for the responsibilities of citizenship in a manner which is calculated to redound to their own best interests as well as those of the country. The public school authorities are lending hearty support to the movement, and, as a consequence, it is certain that the aliens among us, who are now coming into the sacred heritage of American citizenship, bring with them a higher conception of the ideals and duties which that privilege carries with it.

The same spirit of enlightenment which resulted in the creation of the Department of Labor was responsible for the establishment of a Federal Children's Bureau. The various problems of child life in all its phases have engaged the attention of this bureau. It began with a study of the prenatal care of mothers. Its bulletin on that subject, written in plain, homely language, has proven invaluable in tens of thousands of homes. Its practical demonstrations of the proper care of babies, which resulted in setting aside the week beginning March 6, 1916, as Babies' Week, for practical instruction of mothers in the proper care of infants, has awakened a universal interest in the conservation of child life. Its investigations of sanitation, safety, hygiene and allied subjects has made available for the organizations and peoples of the various States and municipalities the very best practical thought on these subjects.

"THERE SPOKE AMERICA!"

(From the New York Times (Ind.) of May 9, 1916, in reference to President Wilson's note to Germany on the sinking of the Sussex by torpedo without warning.)

"The people of the United States hear their own voice and read their own thought in the note that went from Washington to Berlin yesterday. It commands admiration as the just and perfect answer to Germany's word that came to us in such questionable shape. It is a model in form, in tone, in brevity. No commendation of it would be misapplied, nor could any praise surpass its merit. * * *

"IT IS A TREMENDOUSLY IMPERATIVE NOTE, BUT NOT OFFENSIVELY SO TO ANY CLEAR CONSCIENCE. WE HAVE BUT TAKEN GERMANY AT HER WORD."

ELOQUENCE FROM LIPS OF VICE-PRESIDENT MARSHALL

There's Snap and Point in These Briefs from the Speeches by Indiana's Candidate and Orator

THE SAME OLD GUARD.

"THE leaders of the old thought which brought the Republican Party to its downfall are all back either upon the tickets or in charge of the party machinery. From Cannon to McKinley, from Penrose to Watson, the old guard stretches out its Jacobean hands seeking the people's blessing, and loudly proclaiming its willingness to die for the rights of man. But a suspicious electorate cynically asks, What Man?"

PREVENTING BUSINESS CRIME.

"YOU ASK, then, why the Trade Commission and why the necessity to prohibit conduct which has already been condemned by the Supreme Court. I'll tell you. Greed may be chloroformed but not unto death. Ambition may sleep, but it wakens. The Sherman Anti-trust Law, if resorted to the moment greed and ambition awake and begin again their nefarious practices would undoubtedly suffice but that law has never been resorted to until one evil after another has sprung up and affected the welfare of the country generally. Sociologists have found that we produce a better grade of citizenship by the repression and cure of criminal tendencies than by waiting and punishing the developed criminal for his crime. A bureaucracy has not been set up in the City of Washington. A system has simply been devised whereby corporate and individual greed will be seized the moment it arouses from its slumber and strangled before it has had time to gather strength or do injury. Prevention, not regulation is the object."—Vice-President Marshall.

WILSON—FOREMOST CITIZEN.

"IF IT shall be asked why the President of the United States is today the foremost citizen of America, let me answer. It is not because he has been elevated to his high position by the voters of his country. It is not because he dwells in the White House in the City of Washington. It is not because he writes great papers nor because he wields large influence. It is because he seeks to dispense the ripened fruits of a lifetime of learning not to a few, privileged and select, but to all."

STORY OF PROGRESS IN PRESIDENT'S SPEECHES

Extracts From His Brilliant Public Utterances Reveal Woodrow Wilson's Exalted Character and Policies

PRESIDENT WILSON'S public addresses will live after him through the years as among the most inspiring and important contributed to history by a President of the United States. He has given to the world many great thoughts, a wholesome philosophy and an expression in high office of unwavering devotion to fundamental human rights. Within his country, these speeches mean even more; they mirror the great deeds by which domestic evils of long standing have been corrected and the Nation held at a time of supreme test steadfast to moorings of law and right. The limits of this Text Book allow but a partial presentation of the more important addresses. The selections sketch the domestic programme so clearly defined at the outset, deal with each of the more important questions that have arisen, domestic and international, and reveal the broad human sympathy and the intense Americanism that have characterized his utterances from the beginning of his administration.

WILSON'S VISION OF SERVICE.

"Our work is a work of restoration."

THIS change of government means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the nation now seeks to use the Democratic party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view. Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh, awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered, and here are some of the chief items: A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the Government a facile instrument in

the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; watercourses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine. We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals. * * *

This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!—From President Wilson's inaugural address, March 4, 1913.

TARIFF AN INCENTIVE, NOT A PRIVILEGE.

"The object of tariff duties must be effective competition."

WHILE the whole face and method of our industrial and commercial life were being changed beyond recognition, the tariff schedules have remained what they were before the change began, or have moved in the direction they were given when no large circumstance of our industrial development was what it is to-day. * * * Only new principles of action will save us from a final hard crystallization of monopoly and a complete loss of the influences that quicken enterprise and keep the independent energy alive.

It is plain what those principles must be. We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage, and put our business men and producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, economical and enterprising, masters of competitive supremacy, better workers and merchants than any in the world. Aside from the duties laid upon articles which we do not and probably can not produce, therefore, and the duties laid upon luxuries and merely for the sake of the revenues they yield, the object of the tariff duties henceforth laid must be effective competition, the whetting of American wits by contests with the wits of the rest of the world.—From President Wilson's address to Congress, April 8, 1913.

BANKING AND CURRENCY LAWS.

"The duty of statesmanship is constructive."

IT IS not enough to strike the shackles from business. The duty of statesmanship is not negative merely. It is constructive also. We must show that we understand what business needs and that we know how to supply it. No man, however casual and superficial his observation of the conditions now prevailing in the country, can fail to see that one of the chief things business needs now, and will need increasingly as it gains in scope and vigor in the years immediately ahead of us, is the proper means by which readily to vitalize its credit, corporate and individual, and its originaive brains. What will it profit us to be free if we are not to have the best and most accessible instrumentalities of commerce and enterprise? * * *.

We must have a currency, not rigid as now, but readily, elastically responsive to sound credit, the expanding and contracting credits of everyday transactions, the normal ebb and flow of personal and corporate dealings. Our banking laws must mobilize reserves; must not permit the concentration anywhere in a few hands of the monetary resources of the country or their use for speculative purposes in such volume as to hinder or impede or stand in the way of other more legitimate, more fruitful uses. And the control of the system of banking and of issue which our laws are to set up must be public, not private, must be vested in the Government itself, so that the banks may be the instruments, not the masters, of business and of individual enterprise and initiative. * * *.
—From President Wilson's address to Congress, April 23, 1913.

BUILDING A CONSCIENCE INTO BUSINESS.

WHAT we are purposing to do is, happily, not to hamper or interfere with enlightened business as enlightened business men prefer to do it, or in any sense to put it under the ban. The antagonism between business and government is over. We are now about to give expression to the best business judgment of America, to what we know to be the business conscience and honor of the land. The Government and business men are ready to meet each other half way in a common effort to square business methods with both public opinion and the law. The best informed men of the business world condemn the methods and processes and consequences of monopoly as we condemn them; and the instinctive judgment of the vast majority of business men everywhere goes with them.

* * *

We are all agreed that "private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable," and our program is founded upon that conviction. It will be a comprehensive but not a radical or unacceptable program.

* * *

Nothing hampers business like uncertainty. Nothing daunts or discourages it like the necessity to take chances, to run the risk of falling under the condemnation of the law before it can make sure just what the law is.

AND THE BUSINESS MEN OF THE COUNTRY DESIRE SOMETHING MORE THAN THAT THE MENACE OF LEGAL PROCESS IN THESE MATTERS BE MADE EXPLICIT AND INTELLIGIBLE. THEY DESIRE THE ADVICE, THE DEFINITE GUIDANCE AND INFORMATION WHICH CAN BE SUPPLIED BY AN ADMINISTRATIVE BODY, AN INTERSTATE TRADE COMMISSION.

The opinion of the country would instantly approve of such a commission. It would not wish to see it empowered to make terms with monopoly or in any sort to assume control of business, as if the Government made itself responsible. It demands such a commission only as an indispensable instrument of information and publicity, as a clearing house for the facts by which both the public mind and the managers of great business undertakings should be guided, and as an instrumentality for doing justice to business where the processes of the courts or the natural forces of correction outside the courts are inadequate to adjust the remedy to the wrong in a way that will meet all the equities and circumstances of the case.—From President Wilson's Address to Congress, January 20, 1914.

WHAT DOES LIBERTY MEAN?

LIBERTY does not consist, my fellow-citizens, in mere general declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite action.

* * *

The task to which we have constantly to readdress ourselves is the task of proving that we are worthy of the men who drew this great declaration and know what they would have done in our circumstances. Patriotism consists in some very practical things—practical in that they belong to the life of every day, that they wear no extraordinary distinction about them, that they are connected with commonplace duty. The way to be patriotic in America is not only to love America, but to love the duty that lies nearest to our hand and know that in performing it we are serving our country.

* * *

I have had some experiences in the last 14 months which have not been entirely reassuring. It was universally admitted, for example, my fellow-citizens, that the banking system of this country needed reorganization. We set the best minds that we could find to the task of discovering the best method of reorganization. But we met with hardly anything but criticism from the bankers of the country; we met with hardly anything but resistance from the majority of those at least who spoke at all concerning the matter. And yet so soon as that act was passed there was a universal chorus of applause, and the very men who had opposed the measure joined in that applause. If it was wrong the day before it was passed, why was it right the day after it was passed?—From President Wilson's address at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, July 14, 1914.

THE DUTY OF SERVICE.

"We have gone down to Mexico to serve mankind if we can find the way."

DUTY is not an uncommon thing, gentlemen. Men are performing it in the ordinary walks of life all around us all the time, and they are making great sacrifices to perform it. What gives men like these peculiar distinction is not merely that they did their duty, but that their duty had nothing to do with them or their own personal and peculiar interests. They did not give their lives for themselves. They gave their lives for us, because we called upon them as a nation to perform an unexpected duty. That is the way in which men grow distinguished, and that is the only way, by serving somebody else than themselves. And what greater thing could you serve than a nation such as this we love and are proud of? Are you sorry for these lads? Are you sorry for the way they will be remembered? Does it not quicken your pulses to think of the list of them? I hope to God none of you may join the list, but if you do you will join an immortal company.

WE HAVE GONE DOWN TO MEXICO TO SERVE MANKIND IF WE CAN FIND THE WAY. WE DO NOT WANT TO FIGHT THE MEXICANS. WE WANT TO SERVE THE MEXICANS IF WE CAN, BECAUSE WE KNOW HOW HE WOULD LIKE TO BE FREE, AND HOW WE WOULD LIKE TO BE SERVED IF THERE WERE FRIENDS STANDING BY IN SUCH CASE READY TO SERVE US. A WAR OF AGGRESSION IS NOT A WAR IN WHICH IT IS A PROUD THING TO DIE, BUT A WAR OF SERVICE IS A THING IN WHICH IT IS A PROUD THING TO DIE. —President Wilson's address at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, May 11, 1914, at the service in memory of those who lost their lives at Vera Cruz, Mexico.

DEMOCRATS THE REAL PROGRESSIVES.

"The Democratic, and only the Democratic Party, has carried out the policies which the progressive people of this country have desired."

THE TROUBLE with the Republican Party is that it has not had a new idea for thirty years. I am not speaking as a politician; I am speaking as an historian. I have looked for new ideas in the records and I have not found any proceeding from the Republican ranks. They have had leaders from time to time who suggested new ideas, but they never did anything to carry them out. I suppose there was no harm in their talking, provided they could not do anything. Therefore, when it was necessary to say that we had talked about things long enough which it was necessary to do, and the time had come to do them, it was indispensable that a Democrat should be elected President. * * * The Republican Party is still a covert and refuge for those who are afraid, for those who want to consult their grandfathers about everything.

There is a larger body of men in the regular ranks of the Democratic Party who believe in the progressive policies of our day and mean to see them carried forward and perpetuated than there is in the ranks of the Republican Party. How can it be otherwise, gentlemen? THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND ONLY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, HAS CARRIED OUT THE POLICIES WHICH THE PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY HAVE DESIRED. There is not a single great act of this present great Congress which has not been carried out in obedience to the public opinion of America; and the public opinion of America is not going to permit any body of men to go backward with regard to these great matters.

Let me instance a single thing:

I want to ask the business men here present if this is not the first January in their recollection that did not bring a money stringency for the time being, because of the necessity of paying out great sums of money by way of dividends and the other settlements which come at the first of the year? I HAVE ASKED THE BANKERS IF THAT HAPPENED THIS YEAR, AND THEY SAY, "NO; IT DID NOT HAPPEN; IT COULD NOT HAPPEN UNDER THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT." We have emancipated the credits of this country; and is there anybody here who will doubt that the other policies that have given guaranty to this country that there will be free competition are policies which this country will never allow to be reversed? * * *

AT EVERY TURN THE THINGS THAT THE PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICANS HAVE PROPOSED THAT WERE PRACTICABLE, THE DEMOCRATS EITHER HAVE DONE OR ARE IMMEDIATELY PROPOSING TO DO. IF THAT IS NOT OUR BILL OF PARTICULARS TO SATISFY THE INDEPENDENT VOTERS OF THE COUNTRY, I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE ONE PRODUCED. * * *—President Wilson's Jackson Day Address at Indianapolis, January 8, 1915.

"AMERICA FIRST!"

We do not want a foot of anybody's territory.

I AM not speaking in a selfish spirit when I say that our whole duty, for the present at any rate, is summed up in this motto, "America first." Let us think of America before we think of Europe, in order that America may be fit to be Europe's friend when the day of tested friendship comes. The test of friendship is not now sympathy with the one side or the other, but getting ready to help both sides when the struggle is over. The basis of neutrality, gentlemen, is not indifference; it is not self-interest. THE BASIS OF NEUTRALITY IS SYMPATHY FOR MANKIND. * * *

MY INTEREST IN THE NEUTRALITY OF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT THE PETTY DESIRE TO KEEP OUT OF TROUBLE. TO JUDGE BY MY EXPERIENCE, I HAVE NEVER BEEN ABLE TO KEEP OUT OF TROUBLE. I HAVE NEVER LOOKED FOR

IT, BUT I HAVE ALWAYS FOUND IT. I DO NOT WANT TO WALK AROUND TROUBLE.—From President Wilson's Address at the Associated Press luncheon, New York, April 20, 1915.

BUSINESS IS NOT A THING APART.

"I, for my part, look forward to the future of American business with the greatest confidence."

IT HAS never seemed to me possible to separate the business of a country for its essential spirit and the life of its people. The mistake that some men have made has been in supposing that business was one thing and life another, whereas, they are inseparable in their principles and in their expression * * *

In the early years of the Republic we felt ourselves more a part of the general world than we have felt since then. Down to the War of 1812 the seas were full of American ships. American enterprise was everywhere expressed in American commerce, when we were a little Nation; and yet now that we are a great Nation the seas are almost bare of our ships, and we trade with other countries at the convenience of the carriers of other nations. * * *

THE SPIRIT OF EXCLUSION AND MONOPOLY IS NOT THE AMERICAN SPIRIT. THE AMERICAN SPIRIT IS A SPIRIT OF OPPORTUNITY AND OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY, AND OF ADMITTING EVERY MAN TO THE RACE WHO CAN STAND THE PACE.

So I say that we have reason to look back upon the past of American business with some dissatisfaction, but I for my part look forward to the future of American business with the greatest confidence. American business has altered its point of view, and in proportion as it has altered its point of view it has gained in power and in momentum. I have sometimes heard exhortations to the effect that politics ought not to be injected into business. It is just as important that you should not inject business into politics. It is even more important that you should not inject business into politics, **BECAUSE SO FAR AS THE BUSINESS OF THIS COUNTRY IS CONCERNED THERE OUGHT NOT TO BE ANY POLITICS.** * * *

I am opposed to monopoly; not because monopoly does not produce some excellent results of a kind, but because it is intended to shut out a lot of people who ought not to be shut out; and I believe that democracy is the only thing that vitalizes a whole people instead of vitalizing only some of the people of the country. I am not fit to be the trustee of prosperity for this country; neither are you. Neither is any group of men fit to be the trustees for the economic guidance of this country. I believe in the common man. I believe the genius of America to be that the common man should be consulted as to how he is governed and should be given the same opportunity with every other man under his government I believe that that spirit is the spirit of the average business man in America.—President Wilson's address before Columbus (O.), Chamber of Commerce, December 10, 1915.

THE MERCHANT MARINE.

HOW are we to carry our goods to the empty markets of which I have spoken if we have not the ships? How are we to build up a great trade if we have not the certain and constant means of transportation upon which all profitable and useful commerce depends? And how are we to get the ships if we wait for the trade to develop without them? To correct the many mistakes by which we have discouraged and all but destroyed the merchant marine of the country, to retrace the steps by which we have, it seems almost deliberately, withdrawn our flag from the seas, except where, here and there, a ship of war is bidden to carry it or some wandering yacht displays it, would take a long time and involve many detailed items of legislation, and the trade which we ought immediately to handle would disappear or find other channels while we debated the items.

The case is not unlike that which confronted us when our own continent was to be opened up to settlement and industry, and we needed long lines of railway, extended means of transportation prepared beforehand, if development was not to lag intolerably and wait interminably. We lavishly subsidized the building of transcontinental railroads. We look back upon that with regret now, because the subsidies led to many scandals of which we are ashamed; but we know that the railroads had to be built, and if we had it to do over again we should of course build them, but in another way. Therefore I propose another way of providing the means of transportation, which must precede, not tardily follow, the development of our trade with our neighbor states of America. It may seem a reversal of the natural order of things, but it is true, that the routes of trade must be actually opened—by many ships and regular sailings and moderate charges—before streams of merchandise will flow freely and profitably through them.—President Wilson's Annual Address to Congress on December 8, 1914.

IT IS high time we repaired our mistake and resumed our commercial independence on the seas.

For it is a question of independence. If other nations go to war or seek to hamper each other's commerce, our merchants, it seems, are at their mercy, to do with as they please. We must use their ships, and use them as they determine. We have not ships enough of our own. We cannot handle our own commerce on the seas. Our independence is provincial, and is only on land and within our own borders. We are not likely to be permitted to use even the ships of other nations in rivalry of their own trade, and are without means to extend our commerce even where the doors are wide open and our goods desired. Such a situation is not to be endured. It is of

Peace is inconsistent with the loss of self respect. More than that, peace is inconsistent with the abandonment of principle.—Woodrow Wilson.

capital importance not only that the United States should be its own carrier on the seas and enjoy the economic independence which only an adequate merchant marine would give it, but also that the American hemisphere as a whole should enjoy a like independence and self-sufficiency, if it is not to be drawn into the tangle of European affairs. Without such independence the whole question of our political unity and self-determination is very seriously clouded and complicated indeed.

Moreover, we can develop no true or effective American policy without ships of our own,—not ships of war, but ships of peace, carrying goods and carrying much more: creating friendships and rendering indispensable services to all interests on this side the water. They must move constantly back and forth between the Americas. They are the only shuttles that can weave the delicate fabric of sympathy, comprehension, confidence, and mutual dependence in which we wish to clothe our policy of America for Americans.

The task of building up an adequate merchant marine for America private capital must ultimately undertake and achieve, as it has undertaken and achieved every other like task amongst us in the past, with admirable enterprise, intelligence, and vigor; and it seems to me a manifest dictate of wisdom that we should promptly remove every legal obstacle that may stand in the way of this much to be desired revival of our old independence and should facilitate in every possible way the building, purchase, and American registration of ships. But capital cannot accomplish this great task of a sudden. It must embark upon it by degrees, as the opportunities of trade develop. Something must be done at once; done to open routes and develop opportunities where they are as yet undeveloped; done to open the arteries of trade where the currents have not yet learned to run,—especially between the two American continents, where they are, singularly enough, yet to be created and quickened; and it is evident that only the government can undertake such beginnings and assume the initial financial risks. When the risk has passed and private capital begins to find its way in sufficient abundance into these new channels, the government may withdraw. But it cannot omit to begin. It should take the first steps, and should take them at once.—President Wilson's Address to Congress, December 7, 1915.

WHAT PRESIDENT TAFT SAID ON SUBMARINE ISSUE.

"In view of the critical nature of the issue, however, is there anything for a clear-headed, patriotic American to do but to back up our President, who is our chosen constitutional leader? This is no time to point out mistakes of the past."

Our deeds in the Nation have been greater than our words upon the hustings; our performance as the lawmaker greater than our promise as the campaigner.—Senator Ollie M. James,

"OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD MEXICO.

"We will aid and befriend Mexico, but we will not coerce her."

OUR concern for the independence and prosperity of the states of Central and South America is not altered. We retain unabated the spirit that has inspired us throughout the whole life of our government and which was so frankly put into words by President Monroe. We still mean always to make a common cause of national independence and of political liberty in America. But that purpose is now better understood so far as it concerns ourselves. It is known not to be a selfish purpose. It is known to have in it no thought of taking advantage of any government in this hemisphere or playing its political fortunes for our own benefit. All the governments of America stand, so far as we are concerned, upon a footing of genuine equality and unquestioned independence.

We have been put to the test in the case of Mexico, and we have stood the test. Whether we have benefited Mexico by the course we have pursued remains to be seen. Her fortunes are in her own hands. But we have at least proved that we will not take advantage of her in her distress and undertake to impose upon her an order and government of our own choosing. Liberty is often a fierce and intractable thing, to which no bounds can be set, and to which no bounds of a few men's choosing ought ever to be set. Every American who has drunk at the true fountains of principle and tradition must subscribe without reservation to the high doctrine of the Virginia Bill of Rights, which in the great days in which our government was set up was everywhere amongst us accepted as the creed of freemen. That doctrine is, "That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community;" that "of all the various modes and forms of government, that is the best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and that, when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and infeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal." We have unhesitatingly applied that heroic principle to the case of Mexico, and now hopefully await the rebirth of the troubled Republic, which had so much of which to purge

But we shall cut from them their last hope of having even a false issue, for we shall pass a bill creating a tariff board to gather the facts created by the new war conditions or the conditions that may exist after peace is declared, and upon these official facts, obtained by men not interested in enriching themselves by taxing others, and with this gathered information be ready to meet every new condition which may arise.—Ollie M. James as Permanent Chairman, St. Louis Convention.

itself and so little sympathy from any outside quarter in the radical but necessary process. We will aid and befriend Mexico; but we will not coerce her; and our course with regard to her ought to be sufficient proof to all America that we seek no political suzerainty or selfish control.

The moral is, that the states of America are not hostile rivals but co-operating friends, and that their growing sense of community of interest, alike in matters political and in matters economic, is likely to give them a new significance as factors in international affairs and in the political history of the world. It presents them as in a very deep and true sense a unit in world affairs, spiritual partners, standing together because thinking together, quick with common sympathies and common ideals. Separated they are subject to all the cross currents of the confused politics of a world of hostile rivalries; united in spirit and purpose they cannot be disappointed of their peaceful destiny.

This is Pan-Americanism. It has none of the spirit of empire in it. It is the embodiment, the effectual embodiment, of the spirit of law and independence and liberty and mutual service.—President Wilson's Address to Congress, December 7, 1915.

LOOK TO WILSON TO MAKE PEACE IN EUROPE.

WITH critics all about him, with patience and strength and great foresight, he has kept a Nation at peace with honor. He has driven from the control of the finances of the people of this Nation an oligarchy of wealth and substituted in its stead a just Government, interested only in supplying the legitimate business needs of the country with sufficient currency to meet its demands and requirements. It ought not to be necessary to nominate him in partisan convention. Patriotism in this world crisis should rise above politics, and all parties should rejoice at an opportunity to proclaim him the whole-hearted and happy choice of a Republic of peaceful freemen. And as we can not afford to swap horses while crossing a stream, who would say that we can afford to swap horses while crossing a bloody stream? So America can not afford to change leadership during this great cataclysm that shakes the nations of the earth, for to Woodrow Wilson more than any other citizen in all the world the Christian people, wherever the rain falls or the sun shines this world around, look anxiously, hopefully, and prayerfully that he will bring peace to the struggling armies of Europe.—From Speech of Senator Ollie M. James, as Permanent Chairman at St. Louis.

ON PREPAREDNESS

(It was President Wilson's action in going before the people upon the issue of adequate military preparedness that solidified sentiment in the country and in Congress behind the comprehensive programme for the development of the defensive armament of the United States. His swing through the Middle West in January and February last awakened that important section to the imperative need both of ample means of military defenses along both Atlantic and Pacific Coasts and of ample appropriations to pay the bill. The following selections from this series of speeches, delivered at New York, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Chicago, Des Moines, Topeka, Kansas City, and St. Louis, display the vigor with which the President espoused the cause of preparedness and outline the National "Safety First" measures since adopted by Congress.)

A WORLD WE DID NOT MAKE.

How can Americans differ about the safety of America?

WHILE AMERICA is a very great Nation, while America contains every element of fine force and accomplishment, America does not constitute the major part of the world. We live in a world we did not make, which we cannot alter, which we cannot think into a different condition from that which actually exists. It would be a hopeless piece of provincialism to suppose that because we think differently from the rest of the world we are at liberty to assume that the rest of the world will permit us to enjoy that thought without disturbance. * * *

It is a surprising circumstance that men should allow partisan feeling or personal ambition to creep into the discussion of this fundamental thing. How can Americans differ about the safety of America? * * *

AMERICA REJECTS MILITARISM.

I cannot tell you what the international relations of this country will be to-morrow, and I use the word literally; and I would not dare keep silent and let the country suppose that to-morrow was certain to be as bright as to-day. America will never be the aggressor. America will always seek to the last point at which her honor is involved to avoid the things which disturb the peace of the world; but America does not control the circumstances of the world. * * *

It goes without saying, though apparently it is necessary to say it to some excited persons, that one thing that this country never will endure is a system that can be called militarism. But militarism consists in this, gentlemen: It consists in preparing a great machine whose only use is for war and giving it no use upon which to expend itself. Men who are in charge of edged tools and bidden to prepare them for exact and scientific use grow very impatient if they are not permitted to use them. * * *

America is always going to use her Army in two ways. She is going to use it for the purposes of peace, and she is

going to use it as a nucleus for expansion into those things which she does believe in, namely, the preparation of her citizens to take care of themselves. There are two sides to the question of preparation; there is not merely the military side, there is the industrial side; and the ideal which I have in mind is this: We ought to have in this country a great system of industrial and vocational education under Federal guidance and with Federal aid, in which a very large percentage of the youth of this country will be given training in the skillful use and application of the principles of science in manufacture and business; and it will be perfectly feasible and highly desirable to add to that and combine with it such a training in the mechanism and care and use of arms, in the sanitation of camps, in the simpler forms of maneuver and organization, as will make these same men at one and the same time industrially efficient and immediately serviceable for national defense. The point about such a system will be that its emphasis will lie on the industrial and civil side of life, and that, like all the rest of America, the use of force will only be in the background and as the last resort. * * *

There is only one way for parties and individuals to win the confidence of this Nation and that is by doing the things that ought to be done. Nobody is going to be deceived. Speeches are not going to win elections. The facts are going to speak for themselves and speak louder than anybody who controverts them. No political party, no group of men, can afford to disappoint America. This is a year of political accounting, and the Americans in politics are rather expert accountants. They know what the books contain and they are not going to be deceived about them. No man is going to hide behind any excuse; the goods must be delivered or the confidence will not be enjoyed. For my part, I hope that every man in public life will get what is coming to him. America refuses to be deceived about the things that most concern her national honor and national safety, that lie at the foundation of everything that you love. It is the solemn time when men must examine not only their purposes but their hearts. Men must purge themselves of individual ambition, and must see to it that they are ready for the utmost self-sacrifice in the interests of the common welfare. Let no man dare play the marplot. Let no man dare bring partisan passion into these great things. Let men honestly debate the facts and courageously act upon them—From President Wilson's address to Railway Business Association, New York, January 27, 1916.

OUR MILITARY NEEDS.

WE DO not intend, we never intend, to have a standing army greater than is necessary for the ordinary uses of peace; but we want to have back of that army a people who can rally to its assistance in the most efficacious fashion at any time they are called on to do so, but who, in the meantime, are not professional soldiers, who do not take the professional soldier's point of view in respect of public affairs, whose thought is upon their daily tasks of peaceful

industry, and who know that in the United States the civilian takes precedence of the soldier. * * *

WE THINK FIRST OF PEACE, WE THINK OF THE CIVILIAN LIFE, WE THINK FIRST OF INDUSTRY; WE WANT THE MEN WHO ARE GOING TO DEFEND THE NATION TO BE IMMERSSED IN THESE PURSUITS OF PEACE. BUT WE WANT THEM TO KNOW HOW, WHEN OCCASION ARISES, TO RALLY TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THE PROFESSIONAL SOLDIER OF THE COUNTRY AND SHOW THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD THE MIGHT OF AMERICA. SUCH MEN WILL NOT SEEK WAR. SUCH MEN WILL DREAD IT AS WE ALL DREAD IT. * * *

I have proposed that we should be supplied with at least half a million men accustomed to handle arms and to live in camps; and that is a very small number as compared with the gigantic proportions of modern armies. * * *

It amazes me to hear men speak as if America stood alone in the world and could follow her own life as she pleased. We are in the midst of a world that we did not make and can not alter; its atmospheric and physical conditions are the conditions of our own life also, and therefore, as your responsible servant, I must tell you that the dangers are infinite and constant. I should feel that I was guilty of an unpardonable omission if I did not go out and tell my fellow countrymen that new circumstances have arisen which make it absolutely necessary that this country should prepare herself, not for war, not for anything that smacks in the least of aggression, but for adequate national defence. * * *

SERVICE TO HUMANITY AIM OF TRUE AMERICANS.

You erect statues to men who have made great sacrifices or to men who have given great beneficences. You do not erect statues to men who have served only themselves. There is a patriciate even in democratic America. Our peers are the men who have spent their great energies outside the narrow circle of their own self-interest, and who have seen to it that great largess of intellectual effort was given for the benefit of the communities in which they lived. These are the men we honor; these are the men who are the characteristic Americans. AMERICA WAS BORN INTO THE WORLD TO DO MANKIND SERVICE, AND NO MAN IS A TRUE AMERICAN IN WHOM THE DESIRE TO DO MANKIND SERVICE DOES NOT TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE DESIRE TO SERVE HIMSELF.

If I believed that the might of America was a threat to any free man in the world, I would wish America to be weak, but I believe the might of America is the might of righteous purpose and of a sincere love for the freedom of mankind. * * *

WHEN THE WORLD IS ON FIRE.

In ordinary circumstances it has not been necessary for America to think of force, because everybody knows that there is latent in her as much force as resides anywhere in

the world. This great body of 100,000,000 people has an average of intelligence and resourcefulness probably unprecedented in the history of the world. Nobody doubts that, given time enough, we can assert any amount of force that may be necessary; but when the world is on fire how much time can you afford to take to be ready? When you know that there are combustible materials in the life of the world and in your own national life, and that the sky is full of floating sparks from a great conflagration, are you going to sit down and say it will be time when the fire begins to do something about it? * * *

THERE ARE TWO THINGS WHICH PRACTICALLY EVERYBODY WHO COMES TO THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE IN WASHINGTON TELLS ME. THEY TELL ME, "THE PEOPLE ARE COUNTING UPON YOU TO KEEP US OUT OF THIS WAR." AND IN THE NEXT BREATH, WHAT DO THEY TELL ME? "THE PEOPLE ARE EQUALLY COUNTING UPON YOU TO MAINTAIN THE HONOR OF THE UNITED STATES." HAVE YOU REFLECTED THAT A TIME MIGHT COME WHEN I COULD NOT DO BOTH? And have you made yourselves ready to stand behind your Government for the maintenance of the honor of your country, as well as for the maintenance of the peace of the country? If I am to maintain the honor of the United States, and it should be necessary to exert the force of the United States in order to do it, have you made the force ready? You know that you have not, and the very fact that the force is not ready may make the task you have set for me all the more delicate and all the more difficult. * * *

ONLY AFRAID OF UNREADINESS.

The Nation's honor is dearer than the Nation's comfort and the Nation's peace and the Nation's life itself.

AMERICA Is not afraid of anybody. I know that I express your feeling and the feeling of all our fellow citizens when I say that the only things I am afraid of is not being ready to perform my duty. I am afraid of the danger of shame; I am afraid of the danger of inadequacy; I am afraid of the danger of not being able to express the great character of this country with tremendous might and effectiveness whenever we are called upon to act in the field of the world's affairs. * * *

The Nation's honor is dearer than the Nation's comfort and the Nation's peace and the Nation's life itself.—From President Wilson's address at Cleveland, Ohio, January 29, 1916.

Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party advocate an army big enough to make aggressors think the second time before they strike a blow. Democracy wants an army and a navy in keeping with the dignity, preservation, and worth of this great Republic. Such preparedness and ability to defend ourselves, our cities from bombardment, and our soil from invasion, and to protect the rights of our citizens is the purpose of Woodrow Wilson.—From speech of Ollie M. James, as Permanent Chairman of the St. Louis Convention.

THE NEED OF TRAINING.

And so when we prepare for national defense we prepare for national political integrity.

THE CONSTITUTION of the United States makes the President the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the Nation, but I do not want a big Army subject to my personal command. If danger comes, I want to turn to you and the rest of my fellow countrymen and say, "Men, are you ready?" and I know what the response will be. I know that there will spring up out of the body of the Nation a great host of free men, and I want those men not to be mere targets for shot and shell. I want them to know something of the arms they have in their hands.

Peace lies in the hearts of great industrial and agricultural populations, and we have arranged a government on this side of the water by which their preferences and their predilections and their interests are the mainsprings of government itself. And so when we prepare for national defense we prepare for national political integrity; we prepare to take care of the great ideals which gave birth to this Government; we are going back in spirit and in energy to those great first generations in America, when men banded themselves together, though they were but a handful upon a single coast of the Atlantic, to set up in the world the standards which have ever since floated everywhere that Americans asserted the power of their Government.—From President Wilson's Address at Milwaukee, January 31, 1916.

AMERICA MERELY ASSERTED HER RIGHTS.

AMERICA has merely asserted the rights of her citizens and her Government upon what is written plain upon all the documents of international intercourse.

I know the spirit of America to be this: We respect other nations, and absolutely respect their rights so long as they respect our rights. We do not claim anything for ourselves which they would not in like circumstances claim for themselves. Every statement of right that we have made is grounded upon the previous utterances of their own public men and their own judges. There is no dispute about the rights of nations under the understandings of international law. America has drawn no fine points. America has raised no novel issue. America has merely asserted the rights of her citizens and her Government upon what is written plain upon all the documents of international intercourse. Therefore America is not selfish in claiming her rights; she is merely standing for the rights of mankind when the life of mankind is being disturbed by an unprecedented war between the greatest nations of the world. * * *

America apparently has never been jealous of armed men if they are only at sea. America also knows that you can not send volunteers to sea unless you want to send them to the bottom. The modern fighting ship, the modern submarine, every instrument of modern naval warfare must be handled by experts. America has never debated or disputed

that proposition, and all that we are asking for now is that a sufficient number of experts and a sufficient number of vessels be at our disposal. The vessels we have are manned by experts. There is not a better service in the world than that of the America Navy. But no matter how skilled and capable the officers or devoted the men, they must have ships enough, and we are going to give them ships enough. * * *—From Address of President Wilson at St. Louis, Mo., February 3, 1916.

THE NECESSITY OF CRUSHING DISLOYALTY

(President Wilson's uncompromising position upon the necessity of an undivided allegiance to America on the part of the entire body of American citizenship was clearly and forcibly expressed before the European war began. Twice in May, 1914, nearly three months before the curtain rose in Europe upon the greatest tragedy of the World's history, Woodrow Wilson defined the obligations of American citizenship which subsequently he has so vigorously and so fearlessly emphasized. These important utterances, dating from May 11, 1914, are quoted chronologically in the article upon disloyalty, page 81, of the Text Book. Immediately following the Flag Day address, June 14 last, came the strong declaration of the Democratic National platform which is prominently displayed in this Text-Book, and which, to state an open secret, expresses the President's view with absolutely literal exactness. The President has ever been careful to state that in number the disloyalists are few. The following extract is a fairly complete statement of his views on this matter.)

VOICES THAT SPOKE ALIEN SYMPATHIES

THE ONLY THING WITHIN OUR OWN BORDERS THAT HAS GIVEN US GRAVE CONCERN IN RECENT MONTHS HAS BEEN THAT VOICES HAVE BEEN RAISED IN AMERICA PROFESSING TO BE THE VOICES OF AMERICANS WHICH WERE NOT INDEED AND IN TRUTH AMERICAN, BUT WHICH SPOKE ALIEN SYMPATHIES, WHICH CAME FROM MEN WHO LOVED OTHER COUNTRIES BETTER THAN THEY LOVED AMERICA, MEN WHO WERE PARTISANS OF OTHER CAUSES THAN THAT OF AMERICA AND HAD FORGOTTEN THAT THEIR CHIEF AND ONLY ALLEGIANCE WAS TO THE GREAT GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH THEY LIVE. These voices have not been many, but they have been very loud and very clamorous. They have proceeded from a few who were bitter and who were grievously misled.—President

Wilson's Address at Manhattan Club, New York, November 4, 1915.

I am sorry to say that the gravest threats against our national peace and safety have been uttered within our own borders. THERE ARE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES, I BLUSH TO ADMIT, BORN UNDER OTHER FLAGS BUT WELCOMED UNDER OUR GENEROUS NATURALIZATION LAWS TO THE FULL FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY OF AMERICA, WHO HAVE POURED THE POISON OF DISLOYALTY INTO THE VERY ARTERIES OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE; who have sought to bring the authority and good name of our Government into contempt, to destroy our industries wherever they thought it effective for their vindictive purposes to strike at them, and to debase our politics to the uses of foreign intrigue. Their number is not great as compared with the whole number of those sturdy hosts by which our Nation has been enriched in recent generations out of virile foreign stocks; but it is great enough to have brought deep disgrace upon us and to have made it necessary that we should promptly make use of processes of law by which we may be purged of their corrupt distempers. * * * Because it was incredible we made no preparation for it. We would have been almost ashamed to prepare for it, as if we were suspicious of ourselves, our own comrades and neighbors!

Not Many But Infinitely Malignant

BUT THE UGLY AND INCREDIBLE THING HAS ACTUALLY COME ABOUT, AND WE ARE WITHOUT ADEQUATE FEDERAL LAWS TO DEAL WITH IT. I URGE YOU TO ENACT SUCH LAWS AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT AND FEEL THAT IN DOING SO I AM URGING YOU TO DO NOTHING LESS THAN SAVE THE HONOR AND SELF-RESPECT OF THE NATION. Such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out. They are not many, but they are infinitely malignant, and the hand of our power should close over them at once. They have formed plots to destroy property, they have entered into conspiracies against the neutrality of the Government, they have sought to pry into every confidential transaction of the Government in order to serve interests alien to our own. * * * They also preach and practice disloyalty. NO LAWS, I SUPPOSE, CAN REACH CORRUPTIONS OF THE MIND AND HEART; BUT I SHOULD NOT SPEAK OF OTHERS WITHOUT ALSO SPEAKING OF THESE AND EXPRESSING THE EVEN DEEPER HUMILIATION AND SCORN WHICH EVERY SELF-POSSESSED AND THOUGHTFULLY PATRIOTIC AMERICAN MUST FEEL WHEN HE THINKS OF THEM AND OF THE DISCREDIT THEY ARE DAILY BRINGING UPON US.—President Wilson's Address to Congress, December 7, 1915.

LOYALTY MUST REMAIN INTACT.

It is not singular that sentiment should be disturbed by what is going on on the other side of the water, but while sentiment may be disturbed, loyalty ought not to be. I want to be scrupulously just, my fellow citizens, in assessing the circumstances of this day, and I am sure that you wish with me to deal out with an even hand the praise and the blame of this day of test. I BELIEVE THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF THOSE MEN WHOSE LINEAGE IS DIRECTLY DERIVED FROM THE NATIONS NOW AT WAR ARE JUST AS LOYAL TO THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES AS ANY NATIVE CITIZEN OF THIS BELOVED LAND, BUT THERE ARE SOME MEN OF THAT EXTRACTION WHO ARE NOT, AND THEY, NOT ONLY IN PAST MONTHS, BUT AT THE PRESENT TIME, ARE DOING THEIR BEST TO UNDERMINE THE INFLUENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE INTEREST OF MATTERS WHICH ARE FOREIGN TO US AND WHICH ARE NOT DERIVED FROM THE QUESTIONS OF OUR OWN POLITICS. There is disloyalty active in the United States, and it must be absolutely crushed. It proceeds from a minority, a very small minority, but a very active and subtle minority. It works underground, but it also shows its ugly head where we can see it; and there are those at this moment who are trying to levy a species of political blackmail, saying, "Do what we wish in the interest of foreign sentiment or we will wreak our vengeance at the polls." That is the sort of thing against which the American Nation will turn with a might and triumph of sentiment which will teach these gentlemen once for all that loyalty to this flag is the first test of tolerance in the United States. * * *—President Wilson's Address at Flag Day Exercises, Washington, June 14, 1916.

STANDPATTERS HEADED FOR OBLIVION.

You have got to run fast merely to stay where you are, and in order to get anywhere, you have got to run twice as fast as that. That is what people do not realize. That is the mischief of these hopeless dams against the stream known as reactionaries and standpatters. That is what is the matter with them; they are not even staying where they were. They are sinking further and further back in what will sometime comfortably close over their heads as the black waters of oblivion. I sometimes imagine that I see their heads going down, and I am not inclined even to throw them a life preserver. The sooner they disappear, the better. We need their places for people who are awake; and we particularly need now, gentlemen, men who will divest themselves of party passion and of personal preference and will try to think in the terms of America.—President Wilson's Address at National Press Club, May 15, 1916.

A PERMANENT PEACE

"We are not mere disconnected lookers-on."

THIS GREAT war that broke so suddenly upon the world two years ago, and which has swept within its flame so great a part of the civilized world, has affected us very profoundly, and we are not only at liberty, it is perhaps our duty, to speak very frankly of it and of the great interests of civilization which it affects. * * * Our own rights as a Nation, the liberties, the privileges, and the property of our people have been profoundly affected. We are not mere disconnected lookers-on. The longer the war lasts, the more deeply do we become concerned that it should be brought to an end and the world be permitted to resume its normal life and course again. And when it does come to an end we shall be as much concerned as the nations at war to see peace assume an aspect of permanence, give promise of days from which the anxiety of uncertainty shall be lifted, bring some assurance that peace and war shall always hereafter be reckoned part of the common interest of mankind. * * *
—From President Wilson's Address Before the League to Enforce Peace, Washington, May 27, 1916.

SERVICE TO WOMEN

Reasons Why Women Should Favor Wilson

The work of President Wilson and the Wilson Administration in behalf of the women of the United States has extended into several large fields.

By keeping his country at peace, he has won the lasting gratitude of the mothers, wives and daughters of the land.

His personal intervention which resulted in the passage of the Child Labor Act has emancipated children in industry from an oppression in youth that dwarfs their bodies and retards their mental development.

He has shown his deep interest in the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, so that its appropriations and field of helpful service have been substantially enlarged each year since 1913.

The new and progressive activity of the Department of Agriculture is directed especially to the problem of aiding women upon the farms. For the first time, effective governmental facilities have been put to the important task of demonstrating to women ways and means of applying home economics in rural life. Profit and a more wholesome and enjoyable home life upon the farms are the objects. Thousands of farm women already are being shown how to manage the smaller farm enterprises—the canning of fruits and vegetables, the administration of small dairy and poultry undertakings, the use of labor-saving devices, etc.—and year by year the work is being expanded under the Agricultural Extension Act.

DEMOCRATS CARE FOR OLD SOLDIERS' NEEDS

Culminating in Sherwood Law, Democracy's Record For Justice To War Veterans is Con- sistent and Strong

The Democrats have a long and strong record upon the need of providing adequate pensions for our old soldiers and sailors, their widows, minor children, and dependents. This record culminated in the passage May 11, 1912, of the new Sherwood or General Pension Law, which bases the amount of pension upon age and service, and which has largely increased the amounts paid aged and disabled veterans or their dependents by the Government.

That law was sponsored in the House by General Isaac R. Sherwood, a soldier-Democrat known throughout the United States, and its passage in the House was secured by the support given by the Democratic majority which controlled the House in 1912. In the Senate, the Republican majority then controlling that body amended the original Sherwood bill. But for the changes made by the Senate, the General Pension Law of to-day would be even more liberal than it is.

In a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 17th last, the Honorable M. E. Burke, a member of Congress from Wisconsin, reviewed the record of Democracy upon pension legislation.

"No Government, whether monarchy or republic," Mr. Burke said, "has ever treated its soldiers and sailors and their dependents as liberally as this Government has treated its soldiers and sailors, their widows, and their dependents. Those who fought and bled for the Nation in time of war, and their widows and dependents, are worthy of their country's gratitude, and with the advance of their years and inability to labor, the Nation's gratitude and affection should be increased and not diminished.

"Some of our opponents, however, may be disposed to contend and assert that the solicitude and gratitude of the Democratic Party for the old Union soldiers has but recently been born or may be prompted by other than reasons of gratitude to the Union soldiers.

"Permit me to here insert a list of the various pension laws which were either approved by a Democratic President or passed by a Democratic House of Representatives. Legislative history proves what I now here credit to the Democratic Party:

DEMOCRATIC PENSION LAWS.

"FIRST—Act of August 15, 1876, providing for the issuance of artificial limbs, or commutation therefor, to disabled soldiers and

seamen, and providing transportation for the purpose of having the same properly fitted.

“SECOND—Act of February 28, 1877, increasing the pension of those who lost both an arm and a leg.

“THIRD—An act of March 9, 1878, granting pensions on account of service in the War of 1812 and the Revolutionary War, requiring a service of but 14 instead of 60 days on the part of the survivors of the War of 1812, and granting pensions to widows, regardless of the date of the marriage to the soldiers of this war. It also granted pensions to widows of soldiers of the Revolutionary War on a service of 14 days. Former laws required a marriage prior to the treaty of peace in the case of widows of the War of 1812.

“FOURTH—Act of June 17, 1876, increasing to \$72 per month the pensions of those who lost both hands, both feet, or the sight of both eyes incident to the service.

“FIFTH—Act of March 3, 1879, increasing the pensions on account of amputation at the hip joint. This sum was afterwards increased to \$45 per month by a Democratic House.

“SIXTH—Acts of January 25 and March 3, 1879, granting arrears of pensions from the date of discharge, generous measures which benefited more than 225,000 pensioners at once and caused the annual pension rate to leap from \$33,708,526.19 to \$57,240,540.14. The Republican Party had control of both Houses of Congress for more than 10 years after the close of the war, but passed no legislation of this character.

“SEVENTH—Act of June 21, 1879, abolishing biennial medical examinations and providing that in no case shall a pension be withdrawn or reduced except upon notice to the pensioner and a hearing upon sworn testimony.

“EIGHTH—Act of June 16, 1880, giving \$72 per month to all those who became totally helpless for any cause incident to the service.

“NINTH—Act of February 26, 1881, for the protection of pensioners in the Soldiers' Homes.

“TENTH—Act of July 4, 1884, which established the proper relation which should exist between attorneys and clients and fixed by law the fees to be allowed in pension cases. By this act a Democratic Congress placed the strong arm of the law between the helpless applicant and the rapacious agent.

“ELEVENTH—Act of July 14, 1892, establishing an intermediate rate of pensions between \$30 and \$72 per month, and fixing the rate of \$50 for all who required frequent and periodical though not regular and constant personal aid and attention.

“TWELFTH—Act of August 5, 1892, granting pensions to Army nurses and forbidding the demanding of a fee by claim agents for prosecuting this class of cases. This was a generous recognition of the noble heroines who, leaving home and loved ones behind, in self-sacrifice braved pestilence and hardship to minister to the sick in the hospitals of the Army.

“THIRTEENTH—Act of December 21, 1893, making a pension a vested right.

“FOURTEENTH—Act of April 18, 1884, making it a felony for any person to falsely or fraudulently represent himself to be an officer of the United States.

“FIFTEENTH—Act of March 19, 1886, increasing from \$3 to \$12 per month the pensions of 79,989 widows and dependents on the roll at the time as well as tens of thousands who have since been placed thereon. These certificates were issued by a Democratic Commissioner of Pensions without any expense or unnecessary delay to those deserving beneficiaries.

“SIXTEENTH—Act of May 17, 1886, amending the reports of the War Department, which discriminated against a large and worthy class of soldiers, relieving thousands of unfortunate veterans of the hardships worked by the resting of the charges against them based upon technical errors in the records.

"SEVENTEENTH—Act of August 4, 1886, increasing the pensions of 10,030 cripples—armless and legless veterans.

"EIGHTEENTH—Act of January 29, 1887, benefiting about 30,000 survivors and widows of the Mexican War.

"NINETEENTH—Act of June 7, 1888, granting arrears to widows from the date of the death of the husband and providing that all United States officials authorized to administer oaths should administer all oaths required to be made in pension cases in the execution of vouchers for pensions free of charge. This arrearage act benefited at once more than 200,000 soldiers' widows.

"TWENTIETH—Act of August 27, 1888, increasing pensions on account of deafness.

"TWENTY-FIRST—Act of February 12, 1889, granting an increase of pension from \$72 to \$100 per month to all persons who lost both hands in the service and line of duty.

"TWENTY-SECOND—Act of March 1, 1889, relating to the payment of pensions to widows or dependent heirs where subsequent to the issue of the check the pensioner dies.

"TWENTY-THIRD—Act of March 2, 1889, removing certain technical charges in the record and relieving a large and meritorious class of soldiers.

"TWENTY-FOURTH—Act of March 2, 1895, which abolished the rate of \$2 and \$4 and fixed the lowest rate of pension at \$6 per month.

"TWENTY-FIFTH—An act of May 11, 1912 granting a service pension to certain defined veterans of the Civil War, increasing the pension of more than 400,000 soldiers, and which is the best pension law ever enacted by Congress, thereby increasing the annual pension roll from \$153,686,500 to \$180,240,145.84."

"When we remember," continued Mr. Burke, "that the Sulloway general pension bill, after having passed the Republican House in the Sixty-first Congress, was finally killed in the Republican Senate of that Congress; and when we find that the

Sherwood bill, introduced by a Democratic soldier and passed by a Democratic House in the Sixty-second Congress, was amended by the Republican Senate in that Congress so as to make it less liberal by \$2,500,000 each year, and so as to make this maximum pension applicable to 15,000 less soldiers and sailors, we can readily see that our Republican legislators are not always safely and consistently the best or most reliable champions and friends of the old soldiers and sailors."

ADDITIONAL LIBERALITY.

Additional legislation further liberalizing the pension laws became effective through Democratic support by an Act of Congress approved March 4, 1913. An amendment to the general law then made in substance provides that when a soldier's or sailor's claim under this law has been passed upon and allowed and his exact age once determined there shall be kept a record in the Pension Bureau showing the name, length of service, and age of each claimant, and date of his birth, the monthly rate of pension granted to or received by him, and the county and State of his residence. Further increases in the rate of pension on account of advancing age are then made without further application by the pensioner and take effect from the date he is shown by the record to have attained the age provided by the act as a period for advancing the rate. The object of this is to advance the rate of pensions automatically, without expense to the pensioner.. This law is working very satisfactorily.

"Under existing pension laws," Mr. Burke continued, "it is impossible for the widow of a Spanish War soldier or sailor to obtain a pension at the Pension Bureau unless her husband died of disease or disabilities contracted in the service. This is a discrimination against the widow of the Spanish War soldier and sailor, for under existing law the widow of a Civil War soldier or sailor is entitled, upon the death of her soldier or sailor husband, to a pension of \$12 per month regardless of the cause of death of her husband."

WIDOWS' PENSIONS PASSES HOUSE.

A bill to remove this discrimination passed the House of Representatives early in this session almost unanimously and has been reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Pensions and is now upon the Senate calendar awaiting action by that body. The bill which was reported favorably and passed by the House was introduced by Hon. John A. Key, representing the eighth district of Ohio, a Democrat and a veteran of the Spanish-American War who served with distinction in that campaign.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL PLATFORM OF THIS YEAR CONTAINS A PLANK AGAIN PLEDGING ITSELF TO GENEROUS PENSIONS FOR SOLDIERS AND THEIR WIDOWS. THE SUBJECT IS ENTIRELY IGNORED BY THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

T. R.—FOUR YEARS AGO

More Than a Flop—Its A Somersault!

THEODORE ROOSEVELT IN EDITORIAL FROM JULY 30th OUTLOOK, 1912.

"The American people are entitled to know that the charge of stealing the Chicago Convention of 1912 is more than campaign recrimination, and that the frauds complained of are much more serious than the mere repetition of loose practices which might have found unfortunate precedents in some previous conventions of both parties. Seriously and literally, President Taft's renomination was stolen for him, from the American people and the ratification or rejection of that nomination raises the critical issue whether votes or frauds shall determine the selection of American presidents."

* * *

THEODORE ROOSEVELT IN STATEMENT TO NEW YORK WORLD JULY 30, 1912.

"It is no mere coincidence that at least nine-tenths of the Senatorial leaders in the theft of the Chicago convention were also leaders in the fight to retain Mr. Lorimer in his seat in the Senate—Messrs. Penrose, Guggenheim, Gallinger and Crane for instance."

* * *

MR. ROOSEVELT IN A STATEMENT PUBLISHED IN THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE JUNE 12, 1912.

"Messrs. Crane, Franklin, Murphy, Penrose, and Mulvane of Kansas, are foremost in the effort to thwart the will of the people." Also: "Again and again have we sent to the penitentiary election officials for deeds morally not one whit worse than what was done by members of the National Committee who unseated properly elected delegates in the 9th district of Alabama."

* * *

FORMER SENATOR JOSEPH M. DIXON, MANAGER FOR ROOSEVELT IN 1912, SAID IN TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT TAFT WHILE THE CHICAGO CONVENTION OF 1912 WAS IN PROGRESS:—

"The saturnalia of foul larceny now in progress under the auspices of the National Committee took on new repulsiveness today with the announcement of the committee's action in the case of California. Ninety millions of American citizens should know that a majority of the National Committee of the Republican party has invaded and violated the sanctuary of a popular vote in the great commonwealth of California."

EXTRA REVENUE NEED MET BY DEMOCRATS

Wealth Must Pay Cost of Preparedness Precautions Taken Against War Emergencies

THE EUROPEAN war seriously affected the customs revenues of all countries. Many nations defaulted in the payment of their obligations and even of interest on their indebtedness. Peace countries the world over hurriedly enacted temporary revenue measures to meet the war conditions. The United States was no exception.

In addition to this condition two other emergency demands later have been made upon the United States treasury, viz.: the expenditures incident to the Mexican trouble and those necessary for preparedness. In accordance with well established fiscal practice under like circumstances both here and elsewhere, the Mexican expenditures will be met by the issuance of bonds.

It was generally agreed that the expenditures for the large increase of the army, navy, and fortifications should be met by increased taxation. This course Congress and the administration have pursued.

In response to this exigency the revenue measure which has just passed Congress and been signed by the President was framed. This law, therefore, involves extraordinary taxation to meet extraordinary expenditures.

NOT PERMANENT TAXATION.

This increase of revenues is not permanent tax legislation. It is only designed to defray the expenditures of our recent increased army, navy, and fortifications legislation. When this duty has been performed and this burden met, these tax rates will naturally be modified or repealed so as to conform to normal conditions and normal expenditures.

Many persons have had the erroneous impression that tariff taxes come from an inexhaustible source of revenue to be tapped at will by the federal government and capable of meeting the most extraordinary expenditures.

The truth, however, is that the annual tariff tax yield under the Dingley and Payne tariff laws averaged less than \$275,000,000 a year. In the future the government will hardly be able to impose tariff taxes that will yield an amount greatly in excess of \$300,000,000, whereas our annual federal expenses to be met by taxes will aggregate more than \$850,000,000 until the in-

A PROGRESSIVE REVENUE POLICY

PAYING FOR "PREPAREDNESS"

THE cost of "Preparedness," which exceeds \$600,000,000 for the current fiscal year, is met by:

1. An increased tax on large incomes.
 2. A tax on large inheritance—that is, on unearned wealth.
 3. A tax on the enormous profits of manufacturers of munitions of war.
-

SAFEGUARDS OF PROSPERITY

THE Democratic war revenue measure also fortifies American enterprise and industry against conditions which may arise at the end of the European war by providing for:

1. A tariff commission.
2. By preventing the dumping of foreign manufactured products into our markets,
3. By placing customs duties on dyes to insure the safety of investments in the dye-manufacturing enterprises which have sprung up in the United States as the result of the interruption of commerce with Germany.

creases for the army, navy, and fortifications shall have been paid for.

The Underwood tariff law will during normal times yield near \$100,000,000 in excess of the customs laws of any other nation. Under these conditions it was both natural and necessary that Congress should turn to internal taxation as a means of meeting these extraordinary expenditures. This course was neither new nor novel. The truth, which many have overlooked, is that our internal taxes were greater than the tariff taxes during three of the four years' existence of

the Payne law. That law was obliged to carry a substantial internal tax provision in order to meet normal expenditures under normal conditions.

Congress found as the most available and equitable sources of additional revenue, an increased tax on incomes, an estate tax, and a temporary tax on the manufacture of munitions. The reasons for the increase of the income tax rates to meet these exigencies are obvious. This tax should yield over \$230,000,000 for this fiscal year.

THE INHERITANCE TAX.

Inheritance taxation affords the largest untapped field of revenue in this country. While it is true that many of the states have utilized this source of revenue, it has been only to a limited extent.

The aggregate annual yield to all the states having the law is to-day less than \$30,000,000. One European country with half our wealth and population derives over \$130,000,000 annually from this source. It is a tax which is universally conceded to be just and cheap and easy of collection. It affords a constant and regular yield of revenue. An estate or inheritance tax levy of \$65,000,000 annually in this country would not touch our capital, but would amount only to about one-half of one per cent. of our annual increase of wealth. The tax is graduated on net estates whose value exceeds \$50,000, and is expected to yield \$20,000,000 the first year and \$65,000,000 annually thereafter.

THE MUNITIONS TAX.

Spain, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, New Zealand, England, France, Germany, Austria, Canada and others have, as a means of meeting their various emergency expenditures during the past two years, imposed excess profit taxes, excess income taxes, and other excess or super taxes.

In view of the abnormal profits realized by munitions concerns in this country during the war and of the sound policy pursued in similar respects by other nations, it was deemed both wise and just to require the manufacturers of munitions and like products to contribute a reasonable portion of their excess profits to the extraordinary expenditures required for the increase of the army, navy, and fortifications. The excess profit tax rates of most other countries range around 40 per cent. to 50 per cent.

In the recent omnibus revenue measure, Congress sought to eliminate all the special taxes of the war emergency law possible. It was found necessary, however, to retain certain of its tax provisions for the present. They are not intended to be permanent but will be repealed as gradually and rapidly as the condition of the treasury will permit.

DUTY ON DYESTUFFS.

The textile and other manufacturers are the chief consumers of dyestuffs in this country. Prior to the war, Germany, which, through careful specialization, had developed the manufacture of dyestuffs to a very high stage, was practically

supplying the world with the colors chiefly used. The war cut this market off, resulting everywhere in a dye famine.

No appreciable quantity of dyestuffs has been obtainable in any market of any country. Great Britain, Japan and other nations have sought to relieve themselves of this condition by making appropriations for government co-operation in the production of dyes. The European war produced this entirely new and anomalous situation in dyestuffs, as it has produced other anomalous conditions in finance, commerce and industry. The result was the enactment of the provision increasing the duties on dyes, colors and certain of their ingredients.

UNFAIR FOREIGN COMPETITION.

It was deemed wise to subject the foreign sellers of merchandise in the United States to similar rules and requirements of fair competition that apply to our domestic manufacturers under the provisions of the federal statutes.

Among other things, this new law prevents a given foreign concern of large capital from destroying an industry in the United States by systematically underselling it and at prices below the domestic price in the country of manufacture, with the intention of driving the domestic establishment out of business.

This and kindred provisions of the unfair competition law, while not in the least interfering with the fullest and most unrestricted competition that is fair, are calculated and intended to prevent the destruction of any domestic industry by methods not tolerated by our laws.

IF YOU WANT PEACE YOU WANT WILSON!

THE people of the United States will be called upon in November to decide which of two men is better fitted to assume American leadership in a world-endeavor to prevent repetition of the horrors now afflicting Europe.

For women, this is a paramount question. Women suffer most from war. Men are killed; the women live on, robbed of home and protected motherhood, compelled to shoulder burdens not intended for them.

Women should compare Woodrow Wilson's record and his utterances with the present position and utterances of the opposition candidate and decide which of the two men is better qualified to lead the nations of the earth—ourselves, and our brothers and sisters on the other side who are hoping so much of America—to enduring peace, security and prosperity.

WILSON'S PATIENCE A NATIONAL BLESSING

Detroit's Independent Newspaper Assails Republican Campaign Charge as an Insult to Country's Intelligence

(From the DETROIT NEWS, June 17, 1916.)

IT MAY not much matter who administers the next presidential period of the United States. But it does matter that fairness and balance of national thought characterize this presidential campaign above all others.

It appears from preliminary statements that the main republican contention in the campaign is to be the alleged "vacillating weakness" of President Wilson. It equally appears from the democratic preliminaries that their contention will rest upon the alleged wisdom and strength displayed by the president.

The difficulty in proving President Wilson to have been "weak" is a very real one, since the alleged "weakness" has not involved the nation in actual difficulty. It would have been possible for Mr. Wilson to have asked congress to declare war on Mexico—or to have created such a state of affairs as to have compelled congress to declare war—the day after he came into office. And that war would have been going on now, with possible complications arising in Mexico's behalf from European and South American nations. A war with Mexico would have thrown our Monroe Doctrine into the world ring to be fought over—and the end of it no man could foresee. Of course, Mr. Wilson did not do that. This is part of the "weakness" charged against him.

JINGOES IGNORED.

Again: Mr. Wilson could have declared war on Germany the day after the Lusitania sunk. He would have had strong support from an angered country and an aroused congress. For days the nation was a dangerous mass of tinder, waiting only the igniting spark. The president knew that such heats of anger suddenly cool when the actual pressure of war begins to be felt, and that the people who cried loudest for war would be the very first to turn and rend the excitable president who gave them what they asked in a moment of irresponsibility. So, the thought of war was not even countenanced by the administration. And that is another item in the alleged "weakness" of the president.

Every course must be judged by its results. Another course than that which the president pursued in every question he has had to handle would have meant war. President Wilson never had any other choice to make—it was always simply peace OR war. He always chose peace; and for that he has been called a vacillating weakling.

STRENGTH WITH CAPITAL "T."

It is one of the strangest psychological exhibitions this country has ever offered to the analytical mind. Here is a nation spared the unnameable horrors of modern war, and yet a part of it professes to be dissatisfied, and a whole political party asserts that it is right to be dissatisfied. Would Germany, surveying her loss of 700,000 young men killed, and 1,300,000 men crippled for life—would Germany today be calling it "weakness" if by the exercise of diplomacy and by "the writing of notes," the Kaiser had been able to stave off the war? Would France have called it "weakness" in President Poincare, if he had been able to preserve France whole in the midst of world cataclysm? No; these men would have been hailed as being stronger than war itself! WELL, IN THE SAME WAY, OUR OWN PRESIDENT HAS BEEN STRONGER THAN WAR ITSELF. HE WAS STRONG ENOUGH TO THWART THE TRICKS OF OTHER NATIONS TO LURE US INTO THIS WAR. HE WAS STRONG ENOUGH TO THWART THE WAR PARTY AT HOME THAT TRIED ITS BEST TO GOAD US INTO THIS WAR. IF THAT IS "WEAKNESS" TO WHAT SHALL WE GIVE THE NAME OF STRENGTH?

THIS IS NOT A CAMPAIGN EDITORIAL. ITS OBJECT IS NOT TO MAKE OR HOLD A SINGLE VOTE FOR WILSON. THE NEWS BELIEVES THAT WHICHEVER CANDIDATE IS ELECTED, THE POLICIES THAT HAVE RULED UNTIL NOW ARE GOING TO BE CONTINUED, BECAUSE THEY HAVE PROVED THEMSELVES THE WISEST AND SAFEST POLICIES. (THE WISE POLICY IS ALWAYS THE SAFEST.) THE OBJECT OF THIS WRITING IS ONLY TO SECURE A FAIR STATE OF MIND IN WHICH TO ESTIMATE THE SERVICE THAT WOODROW WILSON HAS PERFORMED FOR THE UNITED STATES.

HIS HEAVY BURDEN.

In the circus, one sometimes sees an athlete hold up ten men. One man mounts his shoulders, another follows, he holds four men on his arms, two more brace themselves against his hips, two cling to his back and neck. And then the athlete begins to walk with them. He sways and strains. He chooses his footing with painful care. His limbs look as if they might collapse beneath him. But does anyone call that weakness? No; for they do not look at the swaying, but at the tremendous burden borne.

Likewise, in the more trying days of the past, President Wilson may have seemed to sway under his burden, to walk with painful carefulness, to choose his footing with what seemed hesitation. Was it weakness? No. For look at the burden he was bearing. STRENGTH IS MEASURED BY WHAT IT DOES, BY WHAT IT CARRIES. BY THESE TESTS, PRESIDENT WILSON WAS AND IS A STRONG MAN. * * *

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FIGURE IT YOURSELF—

How Much Do We Owe Woodrow Wilson?

LAST JULY THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY ESTIMATED THE TOTAL COST OF THE WAR AT THE END OF TWO YEARS AT MORE THAN \$140,000,000,000, BASING ITS ESTIMATES ON THE CONSERVATIVE FIGURES OF SOME OF THE FOREMOST EUROPEAN STATISTICIANS, SUCH AS EDGAR CRAMMOND, OF ENGLAND; HENRI MASSON, OF BELGIUM; YVES GUYOT, OF FRANCE; MONSIEUR BARRIOL, OF RUSSIA; VON RENAULT AND RIESSER, OF GERMANY, AND THE AUSTRIAN MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

THIS HUGE COST INCLUDED DIRECT EXPENDITURES AND INDIRECT COSTS DUE TO LOSSES OF PROPERTY AND CAPITAL, AND WAS DIVIDED THUS:

GERMANY	\$47,805,000,000
ENGLAND	27,350,000,000
FRANCE	22,025,000,000
AUSTRIA	23,790,000,000
RUSSIA	18,770,000,000
BELGIUM	5,540,000,000
ITALY	11,000,000,000

MINISTER GUYOT, OF FRANCE, HAS DECLARED THAT "THIS VAST DRAIN ON THE WORLD'S FINANCES IS CALCULATED TO PUT THREE-FOURTHS OF THE WORLD IN PAWN, WERE IT TO CONTINUE FOUR YEARS LONGER, LEAVING THE UNITED STATES AS THE ONLY SOLVENT NATION ON EARTH"

Peace with Honor!
Preparedness!
Prosperity!

THE
Democratic Text Book
1916



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